

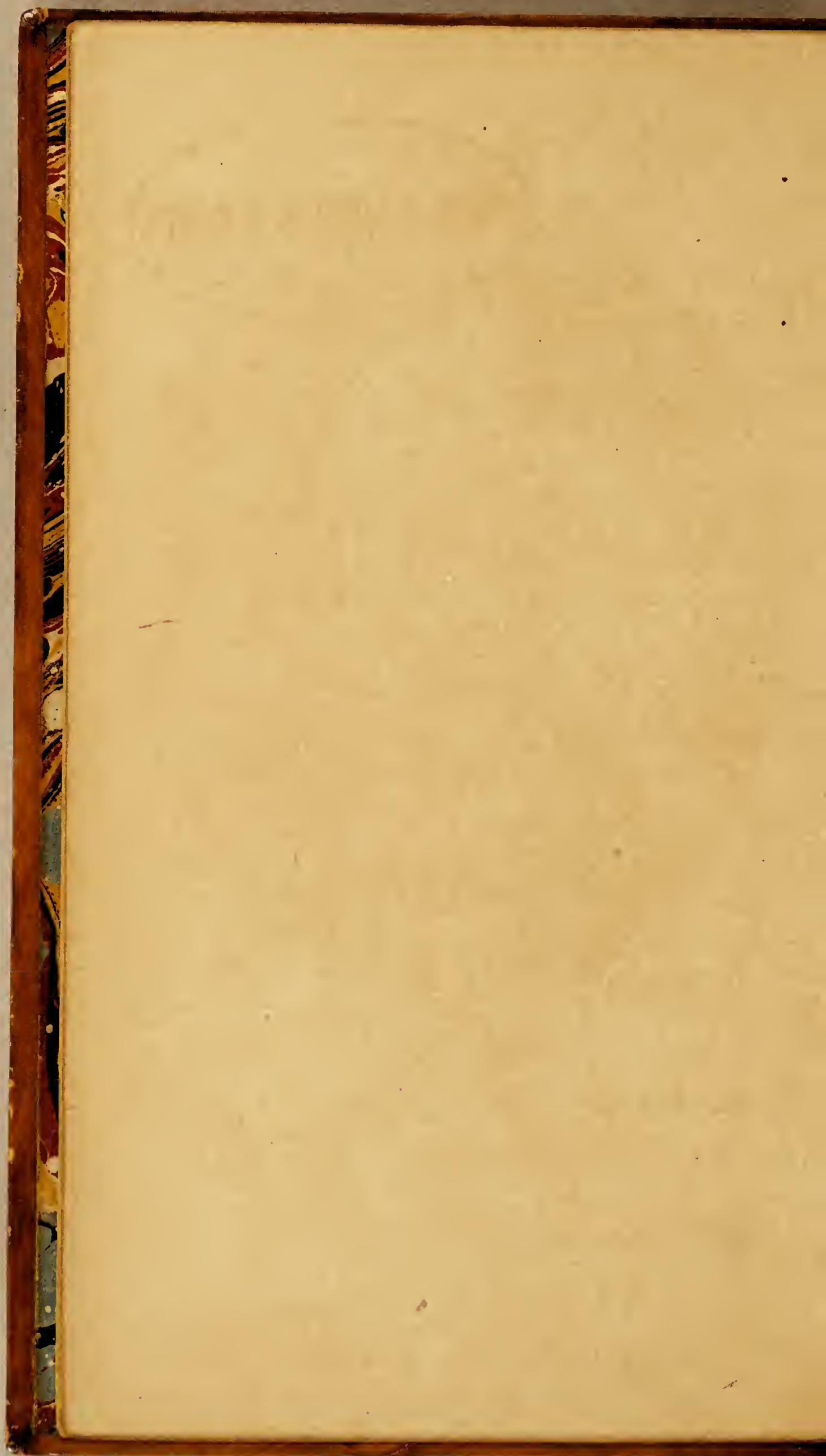
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John Carter Brown.



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GEN. GEORGE WASHINGTON.

M E M O R Y -

OF JOHN CARTER BROWN

WASHINGTON:

COMPRISING

A SKETCH OF HIS

LIFE and CHARACTER;

AND THE

National Testimonials of Respect.



ALSO,

A COLLECTION OF

EULOGIES and ORATIONS.

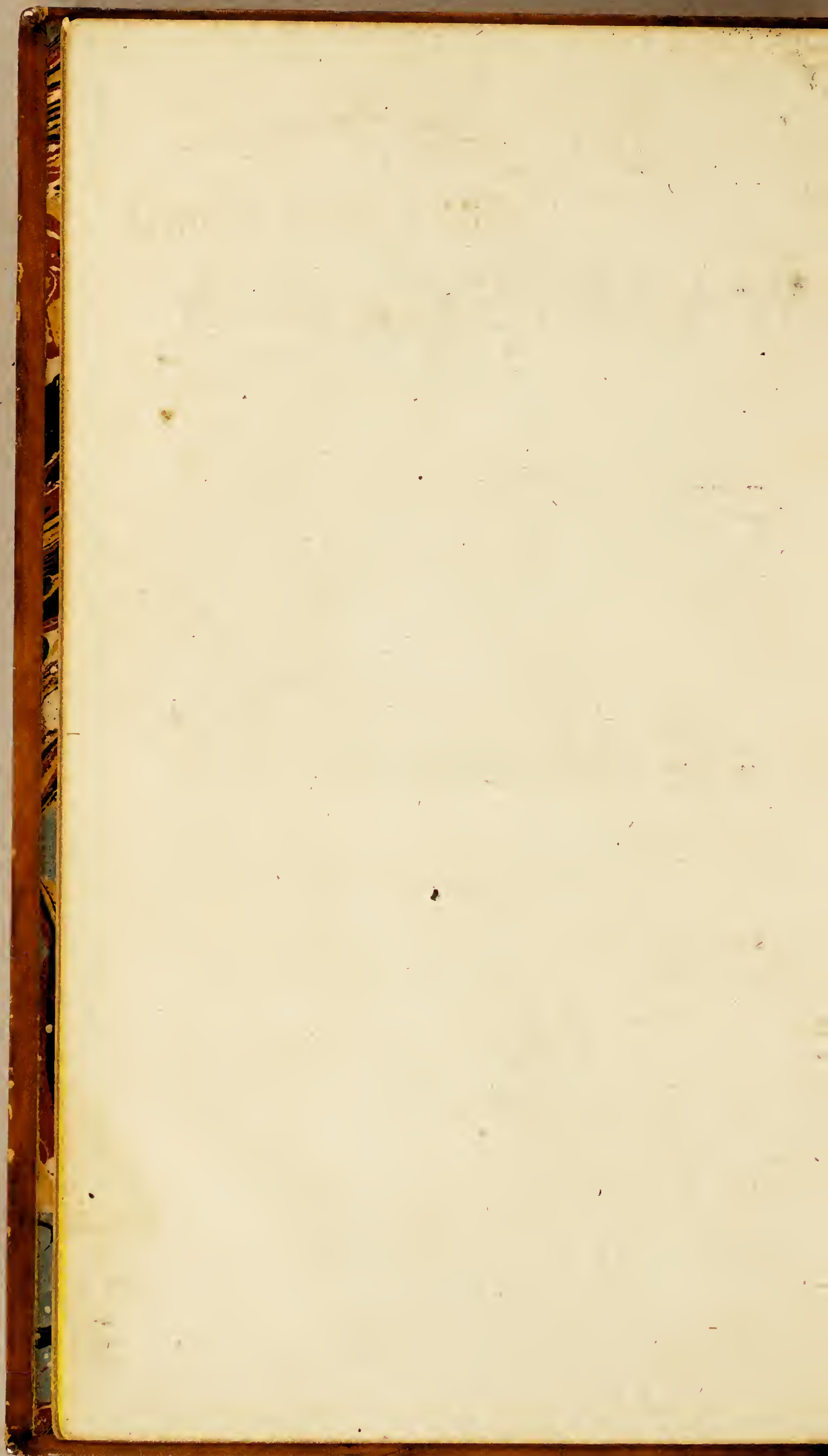
WITH A

COPIOUS APPENDIX.

NEWPORT, R. I.

PRINTED BY OLIVER FARNSWORTH.

1800.




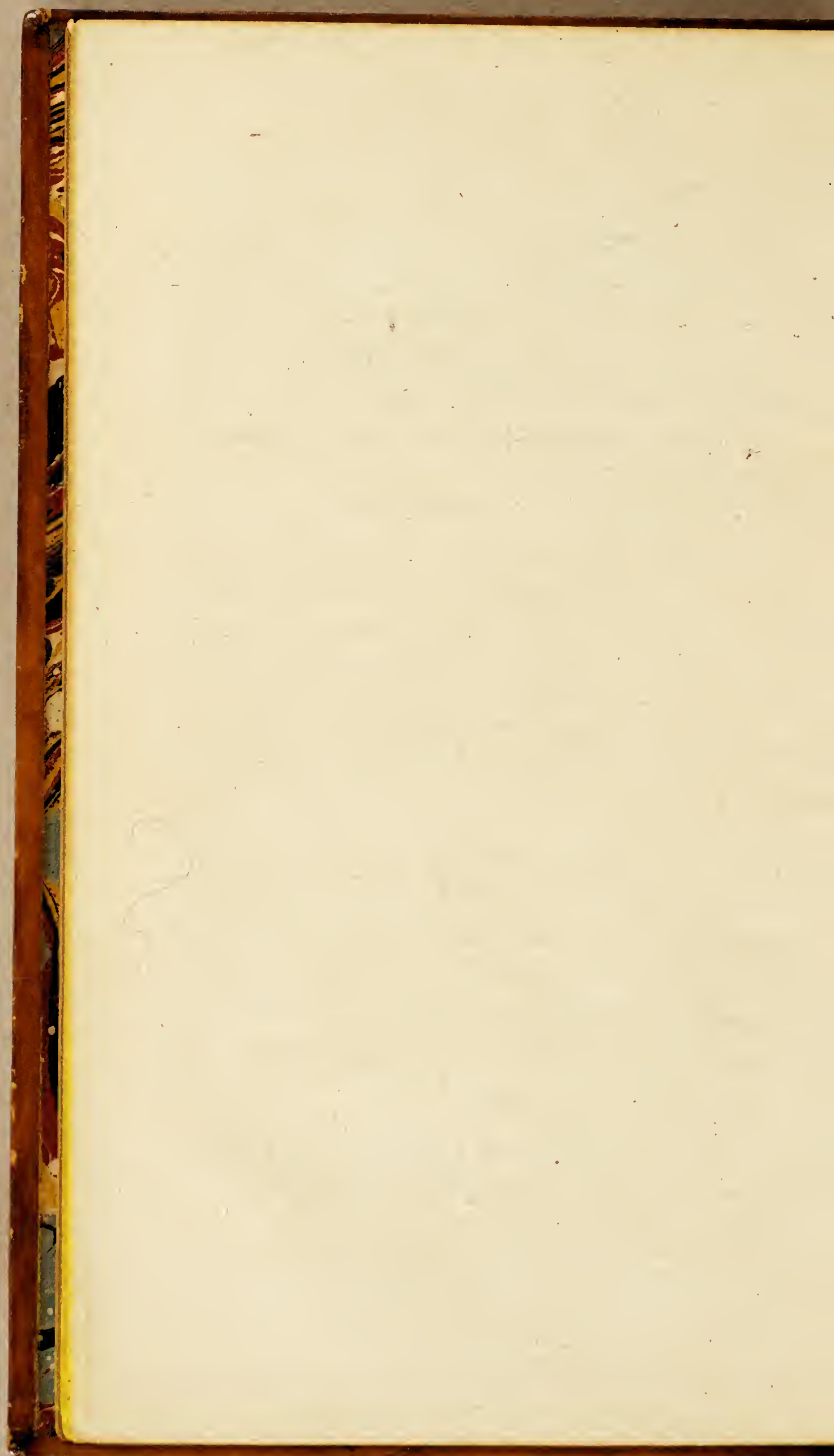
TO THE PUBLIC.

TO render homage to that Character which forms the subject of the present Work, is the pride and ambition of every true American. Congress have decreed him the noblest honors. Communities and individuals vie with each other in testifying their respect and veneration for such rare virtue and unrivalled worth. And the Editor has the pleasure of announcing, that this Volume, which is intended as a Tribute of Respect to the Memory of the Father of our Country, will be found to contain a copious variety of matter, highly interesting and valuable.

SHOULD this Compilation, which we now have the happiness of offering to the Public, be favored with general approbation, it is the intention of the Editor to publish a Second Volume; in which, several Eulogies, Orations, &c. unavoidably omitted in this, and which are judged really meritorious— together with the invaluable POLITICAL LEGACIES of WASHINGTON, will appear.

Newport, July 4th, 1800.

 Subscription papers for the 2d Volume, will soon be forwarded to different parts of the United States.



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CHARACTER
OF
WASHINGTON.

WRITTEN IN 1798.

BY AN AMERICAN.

DOES the prostitute page of history glow with the enthusiastic eulogia on the characters of tyrants, who have only revelled in a Court, or of conquerors, who have only slaughtered in the field? And shall even the impartial portraitist rest in apathetic torpidity, and slumber in criminal silence, while our American *Fabius* lives, and astonishes the world with the plenitude of his virtue and his greatness? Are the characters of a *Sidney*, of a *Pitt*, and of a *Fox*, consigned to immortality by the nervous eloquence of their zealous and partial countrymen, and shall not an humble tribute of justice be rendered to the man of the people, whose person is beloved by his fellow-citizens, whose name is revered by the Nations of the earth, and whose

situation is the envy of even the monarch himself, when seated superb on his throne of empire.

WASHINGTON is equally majestic in mein, dignified in merit and exalted in fame. While the manly and august firmness of his deportment and manners potently characterize the soldier and the hero, their graceful ease and elegance bespeak the man of fashion and consummate politeness. His openness and unaffected affability seem to invite an acquaintance, by rendering access easy, and intercourse delightful.

THOUGH he dart not from his eye the vengeful fire, nor bear on his brow the haughty defiance of the inexorable *Achilles*, yet is his countenance marked with the calm intrepidity of the noble *Hector*, and the superior stability of the youthful *Patroclus*.—But notwithstanding his whole aspect pronounces him the Hero formed to rush fearless, yet terrible, through the rude tempest of war, and to ride triumphant in the gilded car of conquest ; yet do the mildness and benignity of his countenance declare him more supremely blest in the kin-

dred sunshine of public harmony and peace. That this is indeed the true disposition of our Patriot and Hero, we learn not from his countenance alone, for the uniform tenor of his public conduct proclaims that his supreme delight is to cultivate with assiduity and care, the tender and precarious olive, rather than to step superb and terrible beneath the shadow of the laurels of glory.

THOUGH his features, when individually examined, be neither elegant, delicate nor fine, yet when viewed in conjunction, and considered in their composite result, they certainly give birth to an unequivocal perception of elegant comeliness, and make an impression so permanent as never to be forgotten.

THOUGH the elegance of our Hero neither electrifies by the divine fire of *Demosthenes*, nor captivates by the less flowing harmony of *Cicero*, yet does the style of his address rival that of the Grecian in precision and force, and that of the illustrious Roman in elegance and dignity.

WHATEVER be the subject of his investigation, he always deliberates with the

most profound attention, and by the wisdom and rectitude of his decision, seldom fails to impress conviction and beget confidence. The evident utility and happy result of his decisions on all matters relative to public policy, have ever furnished the strongest and most unequivocal testimony of their truth and justice.

IN his wise and happy choice of confidants and friends, he has given to the world such a specimen of thorough knowledge of human nature as no public character ever exhibited before : For in no instance have his friends ever forsaken him ; in no instance have his confidants ever betrayed him, either while a commander in the field, or a public officer in the cabinet.

IN his investigation of subjects relative either to the interest and policy of his country, or the complicated rights of nations in general, he does not appear to gain the summit of truth by the slow and laborious steps of argumentative arrangement and logical deduction ; but after taking a general view of the point immediately in question, suddenly bounds over every obstacle and dif-

ficulty by the power and activity of an irresistible genius.

To the foregoing qualifications of our Statesman and Hero, we may add, that he is himself a model in point of morality, and a friendly patron of religion and piety. Neither the loud calls of wild dissipation, nor the soft assuasive accents of pleasure have ever been able to seduce him from the paths of moral rectitude, and he is not ashamed to mingle with his fellow-citizens, and devoutly join them in acts of public worship to the beneficent source of the universe.

In this amiable and august personage, we discover a local concentration of those truly invaluable and sublime characteristics which are particularly designed to constitute the aggregate worth and dignity of human nature ; while on the other hand, he is happily exempt from those weaknesses and irregularities so destructive to the happiness, and so humiliating to the pride of self adoring man. Thus we behold in the Guardian of his country, the most consummate valor, without precipitate rashness—the utmost caution, without effeminate tim-

idity—the highest patience and fortitude, without either apathy or indolence—the most dispassionate coolness, without listless inactivity—the most unalterable firmness and determined perseverance, without blind and incorrigible obstinacy—the most exquisite judgment and acute penetration, without the supercilious pride of knowledge—and an unparalleled love of his fellow citizens, without an implicit submission to their eccentric whims and capricious irregularities.

To conclude, it would indeed appear that in the person of WASHINGTON, nature and fortune had co-operated with their utmost energy, to astonish the world with a character of goodness and consummate greatness. As a man, he has ever been beloved by his fellow-citizens at large; as a General, he is an exquisite model of bravery, tempered by prudence, and illumined by wisdom; and as the Supreme Executive of the Union, he has displayed all that public virtue and merit, necessary to render him the pride of his friends, the boast of his country, and the admiration of the world.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF

General George Washington,

BY J. MORSE, D. D.

THE death of this great man, has rendered an account of his life particularly desirable. To a nation whose feelings seem to be absorbed by this most afflicting event, whose attention is chiefly directed to the contemplation of the resplendent virtues of the deceased Father of his country, every circumstance of his life has become interesting.

I HAVE not the vanity to assume to be the Biographer of General WASHINGTON. This arduous, honorable, and useful task, is probably already assigned by proper authority, to a man competent to its execution, and who is already, or will,

B

be, in possession of all the requisite documents for so important a work. But having heretofore given to the public, in a work* designed for their use, a brief sketch of his life, I hope they will not consider it as presumption in me, if, with a view to satisfy, in some degree, solicitous inquiries on the subject, and as a humble tribute to the memory of the *first of men*, I revise and enlarge this sketch, and in an improved form, at this moment of general feeling, offer it to their perusal.

THE late General WASHINGTON was born in the parish of Washington, Westmoreland county, in Virginia, February 22, 1732. He was the third son of Mr. AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON, a planter or farmer of respectable talents, distinguished reputation and large estate in Virginia. The ancestors of this gentleman, about the year 1657, removed from Yorkshire in England to Virginia, and settled in King George's county, where, at the commencement of our revolution, the General had three brothers living, viz. Samuel,

* The American Geography.

John and Charles, all gentlemen of considerable landed property, and a sister, the wife of Col. *Fielding Lewis*.*

THE General was the first fruit of a second marriage. His early education, conducted by a private tutor, under the direction of his father, was such as favored the production of an athletic and vigorous body, and the formation of a correct and solid mind. Inhaling a pure mountain air, accustomed to the healthful occupations of rural life, and to the manly toils of the chase, his limbs expanded to an unusual, robust, but well proportioned and graceful size, adapted to endure the fatigues of his future life, and to sustain the active energies of his noble soul.

By his tutor he was taught the rudiments of the Latin language, English grammar, and the elements of the mathematicks. At the age of ten years, his father died, and the charge of a numerous family devolved on his eldest brother, Mr. *Lawrence*

* SEE a letter, written at an early period of the American Revolution, by *John Bell*, Esq. of Maryland, to a friend in Europe, and published in the *Massachusetts Magazine*, for March 1791.

Washington. This brother, a young gentleman of most promising talents, had a Captain's command in the colonial troops, employed against Carthagera, under Admiral *Vernon*. On his return from this expedition, he married the daughter of the Hon. *William Fairfax*, of Belvoir, and settled on his patrimonial estate, which he called Mount Vernon, in honor of his Admiral, from whom he had received many civilities. He was afterwards made Adjutant General of the militia of Virginia, but did not long survive his appointment. He left one daughter, who dying young, and his second brother also having deceased without issue, the General succeeded to the family seat, and to a very considerable landed estate.

It is a circumstance which ought not to be here omitted, that, at the age of fifteen, he was entered a midshipman on board a British ship of war stationed on the coast of Virginia, and his baggage prepared for embarkation; but his mother, then a widow, expressing her reluctance at his engaging in that profession, the plan was abandoned.

THE office of adjutant general, made vacant by the death of his brother, in consequence of the extensive limits of the province, was now divided into three districts; and the future Hero of America, before he had completed his twentieth year, began his military service by a principal appointment in that department, with the rank of Major.

WHEN he was little more than twenty years of age, an event occurred which called forth his great talents into public notice and exercise. In 1753, the French from Canada, aided by the Indians, whom they engaged for the purpose, made inroads and encroachments upon the western frontiers, along the Allegany and Ohio rivers. Orders were received from England, by the Governor* and Council of Virginia, to repel by force these encroachments. It was however thought a prudent preliminary step, to make an effort to prevent open hostilities, by friendly and spirited remonstrances to the French, and conciliatory overtures to the Indians. Major WASH-

* LIEUT. Governor *Dinwiddie* at this time administered the government.

INGTON was deputed to undertake this important and perilous embassy. Accordingly he was dispatched by the Governor, with a letter to the Commander in Chief of the French on the Ohio, complaining of the infractions of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns ; and with instructions and plenary powers to treat with the Six Nations and other tribes of Western Indians, and to secure their attachment to England. He commenced his journey late in October, with about fifteen attendants, and endured the fatigues, and performed the duties of his mission, with singular fortitude, industry, intelligence and address. When he returned with Monsieur de St. Piere's answer, and gave information of his success in his negotiations with the Indians, he received the approbation and thanks of his country. His journal* and report to Governor *Dinwiddie*, which were published at the time, early announced to the world, that strength and correctness of mind, ease and manliness of style, and that

* This *Journal* was published in the *Massachusetts Magazine* for June and July 1789, from a copy sent to the writer of this, from his correspondent in Virginia.

judgment, method, and accuracy in doing business, which have since characterised him in conducting more arduous affairs. His journal for many years after, proved of essential service to travellers into that western wilderness.

NOTWITHSTANDING the remonstrances made by the government of Virginia to the French commander on the Ohio, through Major WASHINGTON, hostile operations in that quarter, were still continued, as part of a meditated plan of general attack upon the then British colonies.† In this state of things, orders were received from the mother country, for the colonies to unite, and prepare to defend themselves. The Assembly of Virginia took the lead; and early in the year 1754, voted a sum of money for the public service, and agreed to raise a regiment of 400 men for the defence of the frontiers of that colony. Mr. *Fry*, one of the professors of the College of William and Mary, was appointed Colonel of this regiment, and Major WASHINGTON, then about twenty-three years of age, received the commission of Lieutenant.

† SEE Note (A) in the Appendix.

Colonel. Col. *Fry* died shortly after his appointment, and left his regiment and rank to the second in command.

COL. WASHINGTON now was indefatigable in his efforts to form his regiment, to establish magazines, and open roads so as to pre-occupy the advantageous post at the confluence of the Allegany and Monongahela rivers (now Pittsburg) which he had recommended for that purpose, in his report the preceding year. Impressed with the necessity of expedition in accomplishing this important object, without waiting for a detachment of independent regulars, and some companies of provincials from the neighboring colonies, who were expected to join him, he commenced his march in the month of May.

ON his way, at a place called Red Stone, he met a strong party of the French and Indians, which he engaged and routed after killing and capturing fifty of the enemy. Among the prisoners was the celebrated Mons. de la Force, and two other officers, from whom Col. WASHINGTON received intelligence, that the French forces

on the Ohio consisted of upwards of 1000 regulars, and several hundred Indians, and that they had already erected a fort at the post he had intended to occupy, which they called Fort du Quesne. Upon this intelligence, he took his station with his little army at a place called Great Meadows, for the convenience of forage and supplies, where he built a temporary stockade, to cover his stores, and named it fort *Necessity*. Here he waited the arrival of expected succours from New-York and Pennsylvania, but was joined by Capt. McKay's regulars, only, which increased his force to about 400 effective men. He remained unmolested till July, when he received information from his scouts that a considerable party of the enemy was approaching to reconnoitre his post; he sallied and defeated them; but in return was attacked by an army of French and Indians, computed to have been 1500 strong, under the command of the *Sieur de Villiers*. The little garrison made a gallant defence, of several hours, during which they killed nearly 200 of the enemy, and more than one third of their own number were either killed or wounded. The

French commander, discouraged by such bold opposition, proposed a parley, which terminated in an honorable capitulation, Col. WASHINGTON, at the head of his troops, quitted the fort with the honors of war, agreeable to the articles of capitulation, and carried with him his military stores, and baggage; but the French commander either unable or unwilling, did not restrain his Indian auxiliaries from plundering the provincials, and making a considerable slaughter of men, cattle and horses. After this disaster, the remains of the Virginia regiment returned to Alexandria to recruit.

THE British ambassador at the court of Versailles was directed to remonstrate to the French government against the breach of the articles of capitulation above mentioned; and this may be considered as the period when the French court began to unmask, and to discover that the conduct of its governors and officers in America, was in conformity to their orders. After this, warlike preparations on the frontiers were made by the French with redoubled activi-

ty, and were continued through the winter of 1754, and the spring of 1755.

DURING this period the government of Virginia raised an additional number of troops, who built fort Cumberland, and fort Loudon, and formed a camp at Wills Creek, a situation convenient for the annoyance of the enemy on the Ohio. In all these services, and particularly in the erection of the forts, Col. WASHINGTON was actively and principally employed.

AT this time, May 1755, Gen. *Braddock* arrived at Alexandria, from England, with two veteran regiments from Ireland, to which were to be joined the independent and provincial corps in America, and at the head of this army he was to repel the invaders of the colonial frontiers. Upon a royal arrangement of rank, by which "no officer who did not *immediately* derive his commission from the king, could command one who did," Col. WASHINGTON resigned his commission, and as a Volunteer, and extra Aid de Camp, joined General *Braddock*. The army marched directly for Fort du Quesne, by the route of Wills

Creek. No person was so well acquainted with this route as Col. WASHINGTON, and no other officer in the colony, at this time, sustained so high and well established a military reputation; and had his counsel been sufficiently regarded, there is reason to believe the misfortunes which followed would have been prevented. In his route, Gen. *Braddock* unexpectedly, and of consequence, unpreparedly, met a large body of the enemy. Without detailing minutely the particulars of the hard fought and bloody battle which ensued, and which terminated in the total defeat of *Braddock's* army, which consisted of 2000 regular British forces, and nearly 800 provincials. I shall only say, in the words of the respectable and correct writer,* to whom I am indebted for many of the facts contained in this sketch, that, "it is allowed on all sides, that the haughty behavior of Gen. *Braddock*, his high contempt of the provincial officers and soldiers, and his disdainful obstinacy in rejecting their advice, were the causes of this fatal disaster. With what resolution and steadiness the provincials, and

* JOHN BELL, Esq.

their gallant commander (Col. WASHINGTON) behaved on this trying occasion, and in covering the confused retreat of the army,† let every British officer and soldier confess, who were rescued from slaughter on that calamitous day by their valor and conduct.

To this information it is proper to add, that Col. WASHINGTON was the only Officer, whose duty obliged him to be on horseback during the battle, who was not either killed or wounded. Providence seemed to reserve him to save from utter destruction the wreck of a defeated army. Having secured their passage over the ford of the Monongahela, and finding the enemy did not pursue their victory, Colonel WASHINGTON hastened to concert measures for their further security, with Col. Dunbar who had remained some distance in the rear, with the second division of the army and the heavy baggage. To effect this, he travelled with two guides, all night, through a dreary wilderness, notwithstand-

† SEE Capt. Orme's Letter to Gov. Dinwiddie, and also the other accounts of that day.

ing the fatigues of the preceding day, and the enfeebled state of his health, having but imperfectly recovered from sickness. So exhausted was he in the morning, that he was obliged to be supported with cushions on his horse. The public accounts of this affair, both in England and America, were not parsimonious of applause for the essential service he rendered his country on so trying an occasion.

Not long after this time, the regulation of rank, which had been so injurious to the Colonial officers was changed to their satisfaction, in consequence of the discontent of the officers and the remonstrance of Col. WASHINGTON ; and the government of Virginia, impressed with a due sense of his merits, gave him, in a new and extensive commission, the command of all the troops raised, and to be raised in that colony. This commission he held, with signal credit to himself, and advantage to his country, till 1759, when, tranquillity being restored on the frontiers of the middle colonies, and his constitution having become extremely enfeebled and endangered by an inveterate pulmonary complaint,

he resigned his military appointment. Impartial historians will do justice to his character, in detailing the judicious plans he suggested, and the system he pursued for defending the frontiers, and his personal hazards, bravery, and achievements previously to the period of his resignation. Nor are authentic documents wanting to shew the tender regret which the Virginia line expressed at parting with their commander, and the affectionate regard which He entertained for them.

From this period, till the year 1775, he cultivated the arts of peace. Soon after he resigned his commission in 1759, his health having been gradually re-established, he married the present Mrs. *Washington*, then Mrs. *Martha Custis*,* an amiable and beautiful young widow, “with whom he had a fortune of twenty thousand pounds sterling in her own right, besides her dower in one of the principal estates in Virginia,”† and settled as a Planter and Farmer, at

* GENERAL and Mrs. *Washington* were both born in the same year.

† BELL's Letter.

his favorite, delightful seat, the far famed Mount Vernon.†

GENERAL WASHINGTON was the largest landholder, probably in the United States. Besides the large estates which came into his possession by his marriage, and by the death of Mrs. *Washington's* only daughter (amounting in the whole to thirty thousand pounds sterling) he owned large tracts of excellent land in different parts of the state, which, in early life, while he was Surveyor, he had taken up for himself, or purchased of officers who had lands allotted them for their services. He also made large additions to his estate at Mount Vernon, which, in 1787, consisted of about nine thousand acres, under his own cultivation. His income from his estates was reckoned, in 1776, to amount at least to *four thousand pounds sterling a year* ; and it was then supposed they would have sold for more than *one hundred and sixty thousand pounds** of the same money, equal to upwards of 666,000 dollars. There can be no doubt, that un-

† See Note (B) in the Appendix.

* SEE *Bell's Letter*.

der his superintendence and admirable management, his property has since much increased.

GENERAL WASHINGTON was not less distinguished as a *Farmer*, than as a *Warrior* and a *Statesman*. He undertook every thing on a great scale, proportioned to his great and comprehensive mind ; and his exact and exemplary method in transacting all his business, enabled him to accomplish more, and in a more perfect and advantageous manner, than perhaps any other man of the age. He has raised seven thousand bushels of wheat, and ten thousand of Indian corn in one year, on his estate at Mount Vernon. In a succeeding year he raised two hundred lambs, sowed twenty-seven bushels of flaxseed, and planted more than seven hundred bushels of potatoes. At the same time he had manufactured under his eye, by his domestics, linnen and woollen cloth sufficient for his household, which consisted of nearly a thousand souls. His land, designed for cultivation, he had enclosed in lots of equal dimensions, and crops assigned to each for many years. On Saturday in the afternoon, every week,

he was accustomed to receive reports from all his overseers, (and these reports, I have been informed, were received and attended to, constantly, during the periods of his Command of our Armies, and his Presidency of the United States) which reports were correctly registered in books kept for the purpose; so that, at the end of the year, he was able accurately to ascertain the quantity of labor bestowed on each of the several lots, and the amount of the produce. Order and economy were established in all the departments within and without doors.

AGRICULTURE was his favorite employment, and he pursued it in a manner worthy of himself. One great object which he ever kept in view, was to introduce or augment the culture of those articles which he conceived would be the most beneficial in their consequences to his country. Upon this principle, he early gave up planting tobacco, and went altogether into the farming business. To acquire and communicate practical knowledge, he corresponded with the celebrated Mr. Arthur Young of England, and with many agricultural gentlemen in this country. As improvement

was known to be his object, he was in the habit of receiving rare seeds, and results of new projects from every quarter. He likewise made copious notes, relative to his own experiments, the state of the seasons, the nature of soils, of which he was an excellent judge, and the effects of different kinds of manure, and such other topics, as tended to the improvement of agriculture.

WHILE he was thus usefully occupied as a Farmer, and giving to all around him, and to posterity, a noble example of industry, economy, and good management, he was, at the same time, assiduous in serving the State. From the time he left the army, in 1759, until the year 1774, he was constantly a Member of Assembly; he was also a Magistrate of the county in which he lived, and a Judge of the Court. He was elected a Delegate to the first Congress in 1774, and to that which assembled the year following.

It was while he was a Member of this Assembly of the wisest men in America, that he was, on the 15th of June 1775, by their unanimous vote, appointed Com-

mander in Chief of all the forces raised, or to be raised for the defence of the then colonies. He accepted his appointment ; with what diffidence and disinterestedness, his reply to the President of Congress, when his appointment was announced to him, witnesses.* “ It was a fortunate circumstance, attending his election, that it was accompanied with no competition, and followed by no envy. That same general impulse on the public mind, which led the Colonists to agree in many other particulars, pointed to him as the most proper person for presiding over the military arrangements of America. Not only Congress, but the inhabitants in the east and west, in the north and the south, as well before as at the time of embodying a Continental Army, were in a great degree unanimous in his favor.”† “ The very high estimation he stood in for integrity and honor, his engaging in the cause of his country from sentiment and a conviction of her wrongs ; his moderation in politics, his extensive property, and his approved

* See Note (C) in the Appendix.

† RAMSAY'S Hist. Revol. Vol. I. p. 192.

abilities as a Military Commander, were motives which obliged the choice of America to fall upon him."†

WE have now arrived at a period in the life of this great man, since which, the events of it have been more conspicuous and more generally interesting ; and it is the less necessary to particularize them in this place, because they have been often detailed, and are familiar to almost every person. I will only observe, that General WASHINGTON arrived at the camp in Cambridge, and took the Supreme Command of the American army, July 2, 1776. " He was received with that heart felt exultation, which superior merit alone can inspire, after having, in his progress through the States, been honored with every mark of affection and esteem which they conceived were due to the man, whom the whole continent looked up to for safety and freedom."‡

It is hoped posterity will be taught in what manner he transformed an undisciplined body of peasantry into a regular

† BELL.

‡ *ibid.*

army of soldiers. Commentaries on his campaigns would undoubtedly be highly interesting and instructive to future generations. The conduct of the first campaign, in compelling the British troops to abandon Boston by a bloodless victory, will merit a minute narration. But a volume would scarcely contain the mortifications he experienced, and the hazards* to which he was exposed in 1776 and 1777, in contending against the prowess of Britain, with an inadequate force. His good destiny and consummate prudence, prevented want of success from producing want of confidence on the part of the public; for want of success is apt to lead to the adoption of pernicious counsels through the versatility of the people, or the ambition of demagogues. Shortly after this period, sprang up the only cabal that ever existed during his public life, to rob him of his reputation and command. It proved as impotent in effect, as it was audacious in design. In the three succeeding years, the germ of discipline unfolded; and the resources of America having been called into co-ope-

* SEE Note (D) in the Appendix.

ration with the land and naval forces of France, produced the glorious conclusion of the campaign in 1781. From this time the gloom began to disappear from our political horizon, and the affairs of the Union proceeded in a meliorating train, until a peace was most ably negotiated by our Ambassadors, in Europe, in 1783.

No person, who had not the advantage of being present when General WASHINGTON received the intelligence of peace, and who did not accompany him to his domestic retirement, can describe the relief which that joyful event brought to his laboring mind, or the supreme satisfaction with which he withdrew to private life. From his triumphal entry into New-York, upon the evacuation of that city by the British army, to his arrival at Mount Vernon, after the resignation of his commission to Congress, festive crowds impeded his passage through all the populous towns ; the devotion of a whole people pursued him with prayers to Heaven for blessings on his head, while their gratitude sought the most expressive language of manifesting itself to him as their common father and benefactor.

When he became a private citizen, he had the unusual felicity to find that his native State was among the most zealous to do justice to his merits ; and that stronger demonstrations of affectionate esteem (if possible) were given by the citizens of his neighborhood, than by any other description of men on the continent. But he constantly declined accepting any compensation for his services or provision for the augmented expenses incurred in consequence of his public employment, although proposals were made him in the most delicate manner, particularly by the States of Virginia and Pennsylvania.

THE virtuous simplicity which distinguished the private life of General WASHINGTON, though less known than the dazzling splendor of his military achievements, is not less edifying in example, or worthy the attention of his countrymen. The conspicuous character he acted on the theatre of human affairs, the uniform dignity with which he sustained his part amidst difficulties of the most discouraging nature, and the glory of having arrived through them at the hour of triumph, made many

official and literary persons, on both sides of the ocean, ambitious of a correspondence with him. These correspondencies unavoidably engrossed a great portion of his time; and the communications contained in them, combined with the numerous periodical publications and newspapers which he perused, rendered him, as it were, the *focus of political intelligence for the new world*. Nor were his conversations with well-informed men less conducive to bring him acquainted with the various events which happened in different countries of the globe. Every foreigner of distinction, who travelled in America, made it a point to visit him. Members of Congress and other dignified personages did not pass his house, without calling to pay him their respects. As another source of information it may be mentioned, that many literary productions were sent to him annually by their authors in Europe; and that there was scarcely one work written in America on any art, science, or subject, which did not seek his protection, or which was not offered to him as a token of gratitude. Mechanical inventions were frequently submitted to him

for his approbation, and natural curiosities presented for his investigation. But the multiplicity of epistolary applications, often on the remains of some business which happened when he was Commander in Chief; sometimes on subjects foreign to his situation, frivolous in their nature, and intended merely to gratify the vanity of the writers, by drawing answers from him, was truly distressing and almost incredible. His benignity in answering, perhaps, increased the number. Had he not husbanded every moment to the best advantage, it would not have been in his power to have noticed the vast variety of subjects that claimed his attention.

IN this manner he spent his time, from the peace of 1783, till he was elected a Member of the Convention who framed, in Philadelphia, in the summer of 1787, the present Constitution of the United States. Of this Convention of sages, he was chosen President, and with his name he has sanctioned the Constitution of their and his country's choice.

WHEN this Constitution, adopted by the nation, was to be organized and put in

operation, by an election of the proper officers, the United States, "steadfast in their preference, with one voice summoned their beloved WASHINGTON, unpractised as he was, in the duties of civil administration," to the chair of government. He heard their voice "with veneration and love,"* and with that self diffidence and modesty, which ever accompany pre-eminent merit, he obeyed their summons. On the 30th of April, 1789, he was inaugurated PRESIDENT of the United States, in the city of New-York, amidst the acclamations of thousands of spectators. "It seemed, by the number of witnesses," says one, who beheld the interesting scene, "to be a solemn appeal to heaven and earth at once. Upon the subject of this great and good man, I may perhaps be an enthusiast: but I confess, I was under an awful and religious persuasion, that the gracious Ruler of the Universe was looking down at that moment, with peculiar complacency, on an act, which, to a part of his creatures, was so very important. Under this impression, when the Chancellor pronounced, in a very

* SEE Note (E) in the Appendix.

feeling manner, "*Long live GEORGE WASHINGTON,*" my sensibility was wound up to such a pitch, that I could do no more than wave my hat with the rest, without the power of joining in the repeated acclamations which rent the air."

IN the autumn after his induction into office, he visited the Eastern States; with how much delight and advantage to the people, and satisfaction to his own mind, let the volume of their addresses and his answers testify.

WITH what dignity, wisdom, firmness, integrity, and high and general approbation, he performed the duties of his most arduous, elevated, and responsible office, during his eight years administration, his Eulogists have eloquently announced, and Historians will record with pride and admiration. "Commencing his administration, what heart is not charmed with the recollection of the pure and wise principles announced by himself, as the basis of his political life. He best understood the indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the

genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and individual felicity : watching with an equal and comprehensive eye over this great assemblage of communities and interests, he laid the foundations of our national policy, in the unerring and immutable principles of morality, based on religion, exemplifying the pre-eminence of free government, by all the attributes which win the affections of its citizens, or command the respect of the world.”*

DURING his administration as our Supreme Executive Magistrate, “his talents and his virtues increased with his cares. His soul seemed not to bear the limits of office a moment after the obligations of duty and patriotism withdrew their restraints from his universal love. When the misguided savages of the wilderness, after feeling his chastisement, had sued for peace ; he seemed to labor for their happiness as the common representative of mankind. Insurrection was so struck at his countenance, that it fled from the shock of his arms. Intrigue attempted to entangle him in her

* MAJOR GEN. H. LEE'S Funeral Oration.

poisonous web, but he burst it with gigantic strength, and crushed her labors. Anarchy looked out from her cavern, and was dashed into oblivion, as we trust, forever. The nations of Europe saw the wisdom of our laws, the vigor of our measures, the justice of our policy, the firmness of our government, and acquiesced in the neutrality of our station.”†

Twice elected by the unanimous voice of his country to the Presidential chair, when the period for a third election arrived, in September 1796, when the state of his country was such that he considered it no longer necessary for him to sacrifice his inclination to his duty, he announced to his fellow citizens, in an ADDRESS which will be immortal as his name, his determination to retire, and requesting them not to consider him as a candidate for their future suffrages ; thus preventing “ the anxious wishes of an affectionate people, from adding a third unanimous testimonial of their unabated confidence in the Man so long enthroned in their hearts.” Having spent *forty-five* years of his life in the service of

† JUDGE MINOT'S EULOGY,

his country, he consoled himself with the hope that he was now quitting forever "the boundless field of public action, incessant trouble, and high responsibility," in which he had so long acted a principal part ; but this fond hope was not realized. He had not yet arrived at the pinnacle of human greatness. One ascending step yet remained untaken. From March 1797, to July 1798, he lived in peace, at his beloved retreat, discharging the duties of a private citizen with a condescension and greatness of mind peculiar to himself. At the latter period, "when every thing we hold dear and sacred was seriously threatened,"* the voice of his countrymen was raised to him, as the Instrument, under Providence, for their protection : He heard it and instantly obeyed ; and thus advanced the last ascending step in the career of earthly glory. On this high and commanding ground, he stood, venerable in services as in years, the cement and the bulwark of our nation, till the 14th of Dec. 1799, when he was summoned above, to join that noble company of the "wise, who shall

See Note (F) in the Appendix.

shine as the brightness of the firmament, and as the stars forever and ever."

His last sickness was short and painful. On Thursday the 12th, he was abroad on one of his plantations. The day was rainy and he took cold ; which, on Friday, produced a violent inflammation in the throat. The following night his disease became very alarming, and he was urged to send to Alexandria for his physician. His humanity for his servants prevented it till the next morning. At 11 o'clock on Saturday his Physician arrived. It was too late. The hand of death was already upon him. Tho his distress was extreme, he was calm and resigned. "He informed his attendants that his affairs were in good order ; that he had made his will, and that his public business was but two days behind hand." A very short time before he died, he said to his Physician, "*Doctor What is the clock ? How long am I to remain in this situation ?* The Doctor replied, "*Not long Sir.*" He then rejoined with the firmest countenance "*I have no fear, Doctor, to die.*" His breathing soon grew shorter ; and presently after he expired without a sigh or a groan."

GENERAL WASHINGTON in his person was tall, upright, and well made; in his manners easy and unaffected. His eyes were of a blueish cast, not prominent, indicative of deep thoughtfulness, and when in action, on great occasions remarkably lively. His features strong, manly, and commanding; his temper reserved and serious; his countenance grave, composed, and sensible. There was in his whole appearance an unusual dignity and gracefulness which at once secured for him profound respect, and cordial esteem. He seemed born to command his fellow men. In his official capacity he received applicants for favors, and answered their requests with so much ease, condescension and kindness, as that each retired, believing himself a favorite of his Chief. He had an excellent and well cultivated understanding; a correct, discerning, and comprehensive mind; a memory remarkably retentive; energetic passions under perfect controul; a judgment sober, deliberate, and sound. He was a man of the strictest honor and honesty, fair and honorable in his dealings; and punctual to his engagements. His disposition was mild, kind, and generous. Candour since

rity, moderation, and simplicity, were, in common, prominent features in his character; but when an occasion called, he was capable of displaying the most determined bravery, firmness, and independence. He was an affectionate husband, a faithful friend, a humane master, and a father to the poor. He lived in the unvarying habits of regularity, temperance, and industry. He steadily rose at the dawn of day, and retired to rest usually at 9 o'clock in the evening. The intermediate hours all had their proper business assigned them. In his allotments for the revolving hours, religion was not forgotten. Feeling, what he so often publicly acknowledged, his entire dependence on God, he daily, at stated seasons, retired to his closet, to worship at his footstool, and to ask his divine blessing. He was remarkable for his strict observation of the Sabbath, and exemplary in his attendance on public worship.

OF his faith in the truth and excellency of the holy scriptures, he gave evidence, not only by his excellent and most exemplary life, but in his writings; especially when he ascribes the meliorated con-

dition of mankind, and the increased blessings of society, “*above all, to the PURE and benign light of REVELATION ;*” and when he offers to GOD, his earnest prayer “that he would most graciously be pleased to dispose us all to do justice, to love mercy, and to demean ourselves with that charity, humility, and pacific temper of mind, which were the characteristics of the *Divine Author of our blessed religion ;* without an humble imitation of whose example, in these things we can never hope to be a happy nation.”*

In an address to him, immediately after he commenced his Presidency over the United States, from a venerable and respectable body of men, who were in the best situation to know his religious character, and who, no doubt, expressed what they knew, is the following testimony to his faith in Christianity “But we derive a presage,” say they, “even more flattering, from the piety of your character. Public virtue is the most certain mean of public felicity ; and religion is the surest basis of virtue. We therefore esteem it a peculiar happi-

* SEE his Circular Letter to the Governors of the several States, dated Newburg, June 18, 1783.

ness to behold in our Chief Magistrate, a *steady, uniform, AVOWED friend of the Christian Religion*; who has commenced his administration in rational and exalted sentiments of piety, and who, in his private conduct, *adorns the doctrines of the Gospel of Christ.*" Grounded on these pure and excellent doctrines, to which his life was so conformable; copying, as he did, with such exemplary strictness and uniformity, the precepts of Christ, we have strong consolation and joy in believing, that e're this, he has heard from his God and Saviour, this enrapturing sentence: *Well done good and faithful servant, enter into the joy of your Lord.*

WHAT a blessing to the world, what an honor to human nature, is a character thus "throughout sublime?" What a bright exemplar for kings, for princes, for rulers of every name, for warriors, for farmers, for Christians, for mankind? Thanks be to God for so rich a gift; praise to his name for bestowing it on our nation, and thus distinguishing it above all others on the globe, and let all the PEOPLE OF COLUMBIA, WITH ONE VOICE, SAY AMEN.

National Testimonials of Respect.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,

House of Representatives, Dec. 18, 1799.

IMMEDIATELY after the journals were read, General *Marshall* came into the House of Representatives, apparently much agitated, and said,

MR. SPEAKER,

INFORMATION has just been received, that our illustrious fellow-citizen, the Commander in Chief of the American army, and the late President of the United States, is no more. Though this distressing intelligence is not certain, there is too much reason to believe its truth.

AFTER receiving information of a national calamity so heavy, and so afflicting,

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the House of Representatives can be but ill fitted for public business. I move you, therefore, that we adjourn.

THE House immediately adjourned.

THURSDAY, Dec. 19.

*The following Message was received from
THE PRESIDENT of the United States.*

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

THE letter herewith transmitted will inform you, that it has pleased Divine Providence to remove from this life, our excellent fellow-citizen, GEORGE WASHINGTON, by the purity of his character, and a long series of services to his country rendered illustrious through the world. It remains for an affectionate and grateful people, in whose hearts he can never die, to pay suitable honor to his memory.

JOHN ADAMS.

“MOUNT VERNON, Dec. 16, 1799.

“SIR,

“IT is with inexpressible grief that I have to announce to you the death of the great and good Gen. WASHINGTON. He died last evening, between 10 and 11 o'clock, after a short illness of about twenty-four hours. His disorder was an inflammatory fore throat which proceeded from a cold, of which he made but little complaint on Friday. On Saturday morning about three o'clock, he became ill. Dr. *Dick* attended him in the morning, and Dr. *Craik*, of Alexandria, and Dr. *Brown*, of Port Tobacco, were soon after called in. Every medical assistance was offered, but without the desired effect. His last scene corresponded with the whole tenor of his life. Not a groan, nor a complaint, escaped him, though in extreme distress.— With perfect resignation, and a full possession of his reason, he closed his well spent life. I have the honor to be, &c.

“TOBIAS LEAR.

“The President of }
the United States.” }

GEN. MARSHALL, with deep sorrow on his countenance, and in a pathetic tone of voice, thus addressed the house:—

MR. SPEAKER,

THE melancholy event which was yesterday announced with doubt, has been rendered but too certain. Our WASHINGTON is no more!—The hero, the sage, and the patriot of America—the man on whom in times of danger, every eye was turned, and all hopes were placed, lives now, only in his own great actions, and in the hearts of an affectionate and affected people.

IF, Sir, it had not been usual, openly to testify respect for the memory of those whom heaven had selected as its instruments, for dispensing good to man: yet, such has been the uncommon worth, and such the extraordinary incidents which have marked the life of him whose loss we all deplore, that the whole American nation, impelled by the same feelings, would call with one voice for a public manifestation of that sorrow which is so deep and so universal.

MORE than any other individual, and as much as to one individual was possible, has he contributed to found this our wide spreading empire, and to give to the western world its independence and its freedom. Having effected the great object for which he was placed at the head of our armies, we have seen him convert the sword into the plough-share, and voluntarily sink the soldier in the citizen.

WHEN the debility of our federal system had become manifest, and the bonds which connected the parts of this vast continent were dissolving, we had seen him the chief of those patriots who formed for us a constitution, which, by preserving the union, will, I trust, substantiate and perpetuate those blessings our revolution had promised to bestow.

IN obedience to the general voice of his country, calling on him to preside over a great people, we have seen him once more quit the retirement he loved, and in a season more stormy and tempestuous than war itself, with calm and wise determination

purſue the true intereſts of the nation, and contribute, more than any other could contribute, to the eſtabliſhment of that ſyſtem of policy which will, I truſt, yet preſerve our peace, our honor, and our independence. Having been twice unaniſouſly choſen the chief magiſtrate of a free people, we ſee him, at a time when his re-election with the univerſal ſuffrage could not have been doubted, affording the world a rare inſtance of moderation, by withdrawing from his high ſtation to the peaceful walks of private life.

HOWEVER public confidence may change, and the public affections fluctuate with reſpect to others, yet, with reſpect to him, they have, in war and in peace in public and in private life, been as ſteady as his own firm mind, and as conſtant as his own exalted virtues.

LET us then, Mr. Speaker, pay the laſt tribute of reſpect and affection to our departed friend. Let the grand council of the nation diſplay thoſe ſentiments which the nation feels.

For this purpose, I hold in my hand some resolutions which I will take the liberty to offer to the House :

“ RESOLVED, that this House will wait on the President of the United States, in condolence of this mournful event :

“ RESOLVED, that the Speaker’s chair be shrouded with black, and that the Members and officers of the House wear black during the session :

“ RESOLVED, that a committee, in conjunction with one from the Senate, be appointed to consider on the most suitable manner of paying honor to the memory of the man, first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his country :

“ RESOLVED, that this House, when it adjourn, do adjourn to Monday.”

THESE resolutions were unanimously agreed to. Sixteen members were appointed on the third resolution.

GENERALS *Marshall* and *Smith*, having waited on the President to know when

he would be ready to receive the House—the President named one o'clock this day. The House accordingly waited on him, when the Speaker thus addressed the President :

SIR,

THE House of Representatives, penetrated with a sense of the irreparable loss sustained by the nation, by the death of that great and good man, the illustrious and beloved WASHINGTON, wait on you, Sir, to express their condolence on this melancholy and distressing event.

To which the President replied.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

I RECEIVE with the greatest respect and affection, the condolence of the House of Representatives, on the melancholy and afflicting event in the death of the most illustrious and beloved personage which this country ever produced. I sympathize with you—with the nation, and with good men, through the world, in the irreparable loss sustained by us all.

JOHN ADAMS,

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 23, 1799.

THE Senate of the United States, this day, sent the following letter of condolence to the President, by a committee of its Members, to which he returned the annexed answer.

To the President of the United States.

THE Senate of the United States respectfully take leave, Sir, to express to you their deep regret for the loss their country sustains in the death of **GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON.**

THIS event, so distressing to all our fellow citizens, must be peculiarly heavy on you, who have long been associated with him in deeds of patriotism. Permit us, Sir, to mingle our tears with yours : On this occasion it is manly to weep. To lose such a man at such a crisis is no common calamity to the world : Our country mourns her father. The Almighty Disposer of human events has taken from us our greatest benefactor and ornament. It becomes us to submit with reverence to him, who "maketh darkness his pavillion."

WITH patriotic pride we review the life of our WASHINGTON, and compare him with those of other countries who have been pre-eminent in fame. Ancient and modern names are diminished before him. Greatness and guilt have too often been allied ; but his fame is whiter than it is brilliant. The destroyers of nations stood abashed at the majesty of his virtues. It reproved the intemperance of their ambition, and darkened the splendor of victory. The scene is closed, and we are no longer anxious lest misfortune should sully his glory ; he has travelled to the end of his journey, and carried with him an increasing weight of glory : he has deposited it safely, where misfortune cannot tarnish it, where malice cannot blast it. Favored of Heaven, he departed without exhibiting the weakness of humanity ; magnanimous in death, the darkness of the grave could not obscure his brightness.

SUCH was the man whom we deplore. Thanks to God, his glory is consummated ; WASHINGTON yet lives on earth in his spotless example—his spirit is in Heaven.

LET his countrymen consecrate the memory of the heroic General, the patriotic Statesman, and the virtuous Sage : let them teach their children never to forget that the fruits of his labors, and his example, are their inheritance.

President's Answer.

Gentlemen of the Senate,

I RECEIVE with the most respectful and affectionate sentiments, in this impressive address, the obliging expressions of your regret, for the loss our country has sustained, in the death of her most esteemed, beloved, and admired citizen.

IN the multitude of my thoughts and recollections on this melancholy event, you will permit me only to say, that I have seen him in the days of adversity, in some of the scenes of his deepest distress and most trying perplexities—I have also attended him in his highest elevation and most prosperous felicity—with uniform admiration of his wisdom, moderation and constancy.

AMONG all our original associates, in that memorable league of the Continent in 1774, which first expressed the sovereign will of a free nation in America, he was the only one remaining in the general government. Although, with a constitution more enfeebled than his, at an age when he thought it necessary to prepare for retirement, I feel myself alone, bereaved of my last brother—yet I derive a strong consolation from the unanimous disposition, which appears in all ages and classes, to mingle their sorrows with mine, on this common calamity to the world.

THE life of our WASHINGTON cannot suffer by a comparison with those of other countries, who have been most celebrated and exalted by fame. The attributes and decorations of royalty, could have only served to eclipse the majesty of those virtues which made him, from being a modest citizen, a more resplendent luminary. Misfortune, had he lived, could hereafter have sullied his glory only with those superficial minds, who, believing that characters and actions are marked by success alone, rarely deserve to enjoy it.

Malice could never have blasted his honor, and envy made him a singular exception to her universal rule.

For himself he had lived enough, to life and to glory ; for his fellow-citizens, if their prayers could have been answered, he would have been immortal. For me, his departure is at a most unfortunate moment. Trusting, however, in the wise and righteous dominion of providence over the passions of men, and the results of their councils and actions, as well as over their lives, nothing remains for me, but humble resignation.

His example is now complete, and it will teach wisdom and virtue to magistrates, citizens, and men, not only in the present age, but in future generations, as long as our history shall be read. If a *Trajan* found a *Pliny*, a *Marcus Aurelius* can never want biographers, eulogists, or historians.

JOHN ADAMS.

In the House of Representatives,
General *Marshall*, made a report in part,
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from the joint committee appointed to consider a suitable mode of commemorating the death of Gen. WASHINGTON.

He reported the following resolutions :

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That a marble monument be erected, by the United States, in the capitol of the city of Washington, and that the family of Gen. WASHINGTON be requested to permit his body to be deposited under it, and that the monument be so designed as to commemorate the great events of his military and political life.

And be it further Resolved, That there be a funeral procession from Congress hall, to the German Lutheran church, in memory of GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON, on Thursday, the 26th inst. and that an Oration be prepared at the request of Congress, to be delivered before both Houses on that day ; and that the President of the Senate, and Speaker of the House of Representatives, be desired to request one of the Members of Congress to prepare and deliver the same.

And be it further Resolved, That it be recommended to the people of the United States, to wear crape on their left arm, as mourning, for thirty days.

And be it further Resolved, That the President be requested to direct a copy of these resolutions to be transmitted to Mrs. *Washington*, assuring her of the profound respect Congress will ever bear to her person and character, of their condolence on the late afflicting dispensation of providence, and entreating her assent to the interment of the remains of Gen. WASHINGTON in the manner expressed in the first resolution.

And be it further Resolved, That the President be requested to issue a Proclamation, notifying to the people throughout the United States, the recommendation contained in the third resolution.

THESE resolutions passed both Houses unanimously.

DECEMBER 24.

THIS day, in the House of Representatives, the Speaker informed the House, that in conformity to the second resolution

passed on Monday, Major-General *Lee* had been appointed, by the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to prepare and deliver the Oration in honor of our late illustrious Commander in Chief, on Thursday next, which appointment he had been pleased to accept.

A MESSAGE was received from the President of the United States, notifying the House that he had agreed to the resolutions passed on Monday, in honor to the memory of GENERAL WASHINGTON, and deposited them among the rolls and records of the United States.

THE Senate of the United States have come to an order, that the Members wear black during the session, and that the chair of the President be shrouded with black, overhung with curtains of black, and the whole chamber lined in a similar manner—as a testimony of respect for the memory of their beloved and regretted late fellow-citizen, GEORGE WASHINGTON.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

THE President, with deep regret, announces to the army the death of its beloved Chief, General GEORGE WASHINGTON.—Sharing in the grief, which every heart must feel for so heavy and afflicting a public loss, and desirous to express the high sense of the vast debt of gratitude which is due to the virtues, talents, and ever memorable services of the illustrious deceased, he directs that funeral honors be paid to him at all the military stations, and that the officers of the army and of the several corps of volunteers, wear crape on the left arm, by way of mourning, for six months. Major-General Hamilton will give the necessary orders for carrying into effect the foregoing directions.

GIVEN at the War-Office of the United States, in Philadelphia, this 19th day of December, A. D. 1799, and in the 24th year of the Independence of the said States.

By command of the President,

JAMES M'HENRY.

Secretary of War.

NAVY DEPARTMENT,

DECEMBER 20th, 1799.

THE President, with deep affliction, announces to the Navy, and to the Marines, the death of our beloved fellow-citizen **GEORGE WASHINGTON**, Commander of our Armies, and late President of the United States ; but rendered more illustrious by his eminent virtues, and a long series of the most important services, than by the honors which his grateful country delighted to confer upon him.

Desirous that the Navy and Marines should express, in common with every other description of American citizens, the high sense which all feel of the loss our country has sustained in the death of this good and great man ; the President directs that the vessels of the Navy, in our own and in Foreign ports, be put into mourning for one week, by wearing their colours half-mast high ; and that the officers of the Navy and of the Marines, were crape on the left arm, below the elbow, for six months.

BENJAMIN STODDERT.

GENERAL ORDERS.

MAJOR-General *Hamilton* prefaces his Orders to the Military of the United States after reciting the President's orders, as follows :—"The impressive terms, in which this great National calamity is announced by the President, could receive no new force from any thing that might be added. The voice of praise would in vain endeavor to exalt a character, unrivalled on the lists of true glory. Words would in vain attempt to give utterance to that profound and reverential grief, which will penetrate every American bosom, and engage the sympathy of an admiring world. If the sad privilege of pre-eminence in sorrow may justly be claimed by the companions in arms of our lamented Chief, their affections will spontaneously perform the dear though painful duty. 'Tis only for me to mingle my tears with those of my fellow-soldiers, cherishing with them the precious recollection, that while others are paying a merited tribute to "*The Man of the Age*," we in particular, allied as we were to him by a closer tie, are called to mourn the irreparable loss of a kind and venerated Patron and Father!"

IN obedience to the directions of the President, the following funeral honors will be paid at the several stations of the army.

AT day-break sixteen guns will be fired in quick succession, and one gun at the distance of each half hour till sun-set.

DURING the procession of the troops to the place representing that of interment, and until the conclusion of the ceremonial, minute guns will be fired.

THE bier will be received by the troops formed in line, presenting their arms, and the officers, drums and colours saluting ; after this the procession will begin ; the troops marching by platoons in inverted order, and with arms reversed to the place of interment ; the drums muffled and the music playing a dead march.

THE bier carried by four Serjeants and attended by six pall-bearers, where there is cavalry, will be preceded by the cavalry and will be followed by the troops on foot. Where there is no cavalry, a detachment of infantry will precede the bier,

which itself will in every case be preceded by such of the Clergy as may be present. The Officers of the General Staff will immediately succeed the bier.

WHERE a numerous body of citizens shall be united with the Military in the procession, the whole of the troops will precede the bier, which will then be followed by the Citizens.

WHEN arrived near the place of interment, the procession will halt. The troops in front of the bier will form in line, and opening their ranks will face inwards to admit the passage of the bier, which will then pass through the ranks, the troops leaning on their arms reversed while the bier passes! When the bier shall have passed, the troops will resume their position in line, and reversing their arms will remain leaning upon them until the ceremonial shall be closed.

THE Music will now perform a solemn air, after which the introductory part of this order shall be read.

AT the end of this a detachment of infantry appointed for the purpose will advance and fire three vollies over the bier. The troops will then return; the music playing the President's march, the drums previously unmuffled.

THE uniform companies of Militia are invited to join in arms the Volunteer corps.

THE Commanders at particular stations, conforming generally to this plan, will make such exceptions as will accommodate it to situation. At places where processions of unarmed Citizens shall take place, it is the wish of the Major-General that the military ceremonial should be united. And the particular Commanders at those places are authorised to vary the plan, so as to adapt it to the circumstances.

The day of performing the ceremonial at each station is left to the particular Commander.

PHILIP CHURCH,

Aid-de-Camp.

A PROCLAMATION.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA.

WHEREAS the Congress of the United States have this day resolved, “ That it be recommended to the people of the United States to assemble on the twenty-second day of February next, in such numbers and manner as may be convenient, publicly to testify their grief for the death of Gen. GEORGE WASHINGTON, by suitable eulogies, orations and discourses, or by public prayers ;” and, “ That the President be requested to issue a Proclamation, for the purpose of carrying the forgoing resolution into effect.” NOW, THEREFORE, I, JOHN ADAMS, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the same accordingly.

*GIVEN under my hand, and the seal of
the United States, at Philadelphia,
the sixth day of January, in the year
of our Lord one thousand eight hun-
dred, and of the Independence of the
said States the twenty-fourth.*

JOHN ADAMS.

By the President,

TIMOTHY PICKERIN, Secretary of State.

ALEXANDRIA, (VIRG.) DEC. 21, 1799.

PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE LATE ILLNESS
AND DEATH OF

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

SOME time in the night of Friday, the 10th instant, having been exposed to a rain on the preceding day, General WASHINGTON was attacked with an inflammatory affection of the upper part of the wind pipe, called in technical language *Cynache Trachealies*. The disease commenced with a violent ague, accompanied with some pain in the upper and fore part of the throat, a sense of stricture in the same part, a cough, and a difficult, rather than a painful deglutition, which were soon succeeded by fever and a quick and laborious respiration. The necessity of bloodletting suggesting itself to the General, he procured a bleeder in the neighborhood, who took from his arm in the night 12 or 14 ounces of blood. He could not by any means be prevailed on by the family to send for the attending physician till the following morning, who arrived at Mount Vernon at about 11 o'clock on Sat-

urday. Discovering the case to be highly alarming, and foreseeing the fatal tendency of the disease, two consulting physicians were immediately sent for, who arrived, one at half after three, and the other at four o'clock in the afternoon: In the mean time were employed two pretty copious bleedings, a blister was applied to the part affected, two moderate doses of calomel were given, and an injection was administered, which operated on the lower intestines, but all without any perceptible advantage, the respiration becoming still more difficult and distressing. Upon the arrival of the first of the consulting physicians, it was agreed, as there were yet no signs of accumulation in the bronchial vessels of the lungs, to try the result of another bleeding, when about 32 ounces of blood were drawn, without the smallest apparent alleviation of the disease. Vapours of vinegar and water were frequently inhaled, ten grains of calomel were given, succeeded by repeated doses of emetic tartar, amounting in all to 5 or 6 grains, with no other effect than a copious discharge from

the bowels. The powers of life seemed now manifestly yielding to the force of the disorder; blisters were applied to the extremities, together with a cataplasm of bran and vinegar to the throat. Speaking, which was painful from the beginning, now became almost impracticable; respiration grew more and more contracted and imperfect, till half after 11 on Saturday night, retaining the full possession of his intellect—when he expired without a struggle.

He was fully impressed at the beginning of his complaint, as well as through every succeeding stage of it, that its conclusion would be mortal; submitting to the several exertions made for his recovery, rather as a duty, than from any expectation of their efficacy. He considered the operations of death upon his system as coeval with the disease; and several hours before his death, after repeated efforts to be understood, succeeded in expressing a desire that he might be permitted to die without further interruption.

DURING the short period of his illness, he economized his time, in the arrangement of such few concerns as required his attention, with the utmost serenity; and anticipated his approaching dissolution with every demonstration of that equanimity for which his whole life has been so uniformly and singularly conspicuous.

JAMES CRAIK, *Attending Physician.*

ELISHA C. DICK, *Consulting Physician.*

WASHINGTON'S FUNERAL.

Extract of a letter from a Gentleman in Alexandria, dated Dec. 19, 1799.

“YESTERDAY I attended the Funeral of the Saviour of our country at *Mount Vernon*; and had the honor of being one who carried his Body to the vault. He was borne by military gentlemen, and brethren of our Lodge, of which he was formerly Master. I inclose you a sketch of the Procession. To describe the scene is impossible. The coffin bore his Sword and Apron; and the Members of the Lodge walked as mourners. His horse

was led, properly caparisoned, by two of his servants, in mourning.

“As I helped place his body in the vault, and stood at the door while the funeral service was performing, I had the best opportunity of observing the countenances of all. Every one was affected, but none so much as his domestics of all ages.”

INTERMENT.

GEORGETOWN, DEC. 20, 1799.

ON Wednesday last, the mortal part of WASHINGTON the great—the father of his country and the friend of man, was consigned to the tomb, with solemn honors and funeral pomp.

A MULTITUDE of persons assembled, from many miles around, at Mount Vernon, the choice abode and last residence of the illustrious Chief. There were the groves, the spacious avenues, the beautiful and sublime scenes, the noble mansion; but, alas! the august inhabitant *was now no more*. That great soul was *gone*. His mortal part was there *indeed*; but ah! how

affecting ! how awful the spectacle of such worth and greatness, thus, to *mortal* eyes, fallen : Yes ! fallen ! fallen !

IN the long and lofty *Portico* where oft the Hero walked in all his glory, *now* lay the shrouded corpse. The countenance still composed and serene, seemed to express the dignity of the spirit which lately dwelt in that lifeless form. There those who paid the last sad honors to the benefactor of his country, took an impressive, a farewell view.

ON the ornament, at the head of the coffin, was inscribed SURGE AD JUDICIUM ; about the middle of the coffin GLORIA DEO ; and on the silver plate,

GENERAL

GEORGE WASHINGTON,

DEPARTED THIS LIFE, ON THE 14th DECEMBER,
1799, Æt. 68.

BETWEEN three and four o'clock, the sound of artillery from a vessel in the river, firing minute guns, awoke afresh our solemn sorrow ; the corpse was moved ; a

band of music with mournful melody, melted the soul into all the tenderness of woe.

THE procession was formed and moved on in the following order :

Cavalry, } With arms reversed { Guard,
Infantry, }

Music,

Clergy,

The General's horse, with his saddle, holsters, and pistols.

Col. Simms,

Col. Ramsay,

Col. Payne,

[CORPSE.]

Col. Gilpin,

Col. Marsteller,

Col. Little,

Mourners,

Masonic Brethren,

Citizens.

WHEN the procession had arrived at the bottom of the elevated lawn, on the banks of the Potomac, where the family vault is placed, the cavalry halted, the in

fantry marched towards the Mount and formed the inlines; the clergy, the Masonic brothers, and the citizens, descended to the vault, and the funeral service of the church was performed. The firing was repeated from the vessel in the river, and the sounds echoed from the woods and hills around.

THREE general discharges by the infantry; the cavalry, and 11 pieces of artillery, which lined the banks of the Potomac back of the vault, paid the last tribute to the entombed Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States, and to the venerable departed Hero.

THE sun was now setting. Alas! the *Sun of Glory* - was set forever. No—the name of *WASHINGTON*, the American President and General, will triumph over death; the unclouded brightness of his *Glory* will illuminate future ages.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

MR. SHAW, Secretary to the President, communicated the following Message :

Gentlemen of the Senate, and
Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

IN compliance with the request in one of the resolutions of Congress of the 21st of December last, I transmitted a copy of those resolutions by my Secretary, Mr. Shaw, to Mrs. WASHINGTON, assuring her of the profound respect Congress will ever bear to her person and character ; of their condolence in the late afflicting dispensation of Providence, and intreating her assent to the interment of the remains of General GEORGE WASHINGTON, in the manner expressed in the first resolution. As the sentiments of that virtuous lady, not less beloved by this nation, than she is at present greatly afflicted, can never be so well expressed as in her own words ; I transmit to Congress her original letter.

It would be an attempt of too much delicacy, to make any comments upon it, but there can be no doubt, that the nation at large, as well as all the branches of the

government, will be highly gratified by any arrangement which may diminish the sacrifice she makes of her individual feelings.

JOHN ADAMS.

United States, Jan. 8, 1800.

MRS. WASHINGTON'S LETTER.

Mount Vernon, Dec. 31, 1799.

SIR,

WHILE I feel with keenest anguish, the late dispensations of Divine Providence, I cannot be insensible to the mournful tributes of respect and veneration, which are paid to the memory of my dear deceased husband; and, as his best services and most anxious wishes, were always devoted to the welfare and happiness of his country, to know that they were truly appreciated, and gratefully remembered, affords no inconsiderable consolation.

TAUGHT by the great example, which I have so long had before me, never to oppose my private wishes to the public will, I must consent to the request made by Congress, which you have had the goodness to

transmit me ; and in doing this I need not, I cannot say, what a sacrifice of individual feeling I make to a sense of public duty.

WITH grateful acknowledgments and unfeigned thanks for the personal respect and evidences of condolence expressed by Congress and yourself ; I remain very respectfully, Sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

MARTHA WASHINGTON.

The President of the United States.

Eulogies, Orations, &c.

FUNERAL ORATION,

ON THE DEATH OF GENERAL WASHINGTON,
PRONOUNCED BEFORE BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, ON THE
26th DECEMBER, 1799.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL HENRY LEE.

IN obedience to your will, I rise
your humble organ, with the hope of exe-
cuting a part of the system of public mourn-
ing which you have been pleased to adopt,
commemorative of the death of the most
illustrious and most beloved personage this
country has ever produced; and which,
while it transmits to posterity your sense
of the awful event, faintly represents your
knowledge of the consummate excellence
you so cordially honor.

DESPERATE indeed is any attempt on earth to meet correspondently this dispensation of Heaven : For, while with pious resignation we submit to the will of an all-gracious Providence, we can never cease lamenting in our finite view of Omnipotent Wisdom, the heart-rending privation for which our nation weeps. When the civilized world shakes to its centre : when every moment gives birth to strange and momentous changes, when our peaceful quarter of the globe, exempt as it happily has been from any share in the slaughter of the human race, may yet be compelled to abandon her pacific policy, and to risk the doleful casualties of war : What limit is there to the extent of our loss ? None within the reach of my words to express : None which your feelings will not disavow.

THE founder of our federate republic—our bulwark in war, our guide in peace, is no more. Oh that this were but questionable ! Hope, the comforter of the wretched, would pour into our agonizing hearts its balmy dew. But, alas ! there is no hope for us. Our WASHINGTON is removed

forever. Possessing the stoutest frame, and purest mind, he had passed nearly to his sixty eighth year, in the enjoyment of high health, when, habituated by his care of us to neglect himself, a slight cold, disregarded, became inconvenient on Friday, oppressive on Saturday, and defying every medical interposition, before the morning of Sunday, put an end to the best of men. An end did I say?—his fame survives! bounded only by the limits of the earth, and by the extent of the human mind. He survives in our hearts, in the growing knowledge of our children, in the affections of the good throughout the world—and when our monuments shall be done away: When nations now existing shall be no more: When even our young and far spreading empire shall have perished, still will our WASHINGTON's glory unfaded shine, and die not, until love of virtue cease on earth, or earth itself sink into chaos.

How, my fellow citizens, shall I single to your grateful hearts his pre-eminent worth? Where shall I begin in opening to

H

your view a character throughout sublime? Shall I speak of his warlike achievements, all springing from obedience to his country's will—all directed to his country's good?

WILL you go with me to the banks of the Monongahela, to see your youthful WASHINGTON, supporting in the dismal hour of Indian victory, the ill fated *Braddock*, and saving, by his judgment and by his valor, the remains of a defeated army, pressed by the conquering savage foe? Or, when oppressed America, nobly resolving to risk her all in defence of her violated rights, he was elevated by the unanimous voice of Congress to the command of her Armies: Will you follow him to the high grounds of Boston, where to an undisciplined, courageous & virtuous yeomanry, his presence gave the stability of system, and infused the invincibility of love of Country? Or shall I carry you to the painful scenes of Long Island, York Island, and New-Jersey, when, combating superior and gallant armies, aided by powerful fleets, and led by Chiefs high in the roll of fame, he stood the bulwark of our safety; undismay-

ed by disaster; unchanged by change of fortune. Or will you view him in the precarious fields of Trenton, where deep glooms unnerving every arm, reigned triumphant through our thinned, worn down, unaided ranks : himself unmoved.— Dreadful was the night ; it was about this time of winter—The storm raged—the Delaware rolling furiously with floating ice forbade the approach of man. WASHINGTON, self-collected, viewed the tremendous scene—his Country called; unappalled by surrounding dangers, he passed to the hostile shore: he fought; he conquered. The morning sun cheered the American world. Our country rose on the event; and her dauntless Chief pursuing his blow, completed in the lawns of Princeton what his vast soul had conceived on the shores of Delaware.

THENCE to the strong grounds of Morris Town he led his small but gallant band, and through an eventful winter, by the high efforts of his genius, whose matchless force was measurable only by the growth of difficulties, he held in check formidable hostile legions, conducted by a

Chief experienced in the art of war, and famed for his valor on the ever memorable heights of Abraham, where fell *Wolfe*, *Montcalm*, and since our much lamented *Montgomery*, all covered with glory. In this fortunate interval, produced by his masterly conduct, our fathers, ourselves, animated by his resistless example, rallied around our Country's standard, and continued to follow her beloved Chief, through the various and trying scenes to which the destinies of our Union led.

Who is there that has forgotten the vales of Brandywine—the fields of Germantown, or the plains of Monmouth? Every where present, wants of every kind obstructing, numerous and valiant Armies encountering, himself a host, he assuaged our sufferings, limited our privations, and upheld our tottering Republic. Shall I display to you the spread of the fire of his soul, by rehearsing the praises of the Hero of Saratoga, and his much loved compeer of the Carolinas! No, our WASHINGTON wears not borrowed glory: To *Gates*—to *Greene*, he gave without reserve the applause due to their eminent merit; and

long may the Chiefs of Saratoga and of Eutaws receive the grateful respect of a grateful people.

MOVING in his own orbit, he imparted heat and light to his most distant satellites; and combining the physical & moral force of all within his sphere, with irresistible weight he took his course, commiserating folly, disdaining vice, dismaying treason, and invigorating despondency, until the auspicious hour arrived, when, united with the intrepid forces of a potent and magnanimous ally, he brought to submission the fierce conqueror of India: thus finishing his long career of military glory with a lustre corresponding with his great name, and in this his last act of war, affixing the seal of fate to our Nation's birth.

To the horrid din of war sweet peace succeeded; and our virtuous Chief, mindful only of the public good, in a moment tempting personal aggrandizement, hushed the discontents of growing sedition, and surrendering his power into the hands from which he had received it, converted his

sword into a ploughshare, teaching an admiring world that to be truly great, you must be truly good.

WAS I to stop here the picture would be incomplete, and the task imposed unfinished—great as was our WASHINGTON in war, and much as did that greatness contribute to produce the American Republic, it is not in war alone his pre-eminence stands conspicuous—his various talents combining all the capacities of a Statesman with those of a soldier, fitted him alike to guide the Councils and the Armies of our Nation. Scarcely had he rested from his martial toils, while his invaluable parental advice was still sounding in our ears, when he who had been our shield and our sword, was called forth to act a less splendid but more important part.

POSSESSING a clear and penetrating mind, a strong & sound judgment, calmness and temper for deliberation, with invincible firmness and perseverance in resolutions maturely formed, drawing information from all, acting from himself, with incorruptible integrity and unvarying patriotism:

his own superiority and the public confidence alike marked him as the man designed by Heaven to lead in the great political as well as military events which have distinguished the æra of his life.

THE finger of an over-ruling Providence, pointing at WASHINGTON, was neither mistaken nor unobserved ; when, to realize the vast hopes to which our Revolution had given birth, a change of political system became indispensable.

How novel, how grand the spectacle, Independent States stretched over an immense territory, and known only by common difficulty, clinging to their Union as the rock of their safety, deciding by frank comparison of their relative condition, to rear on that rock, under the guidance of reason, a common Government through whose commanding protection, Liberty and Order, with their long train of blessings, should be safe to themselves, and the sure inheritance of their posterity.

THIS arduous task devolved on Citizens selected by the people, from knowledge of their wisdom and confidence in

their virtue. In this august assembly of sages and of patriots, WASHINGTON of course was found ; and, as if acknowledged to be most wise, where all were wise, with one voice he was declared their Chief. How well he merited this rare distinction, how faithful were the labors of himself and his compatriots, the work of their hands and our union, strength and prosperity, the fruits of that work, best attest.

BUT to have essentially aided in presenting to his Country this consummation of her hopes, neither satisfied the claims of his fellow-citizens on his talents, nor those duties which the possession of those talents imposed. Heaven had not infused into his mind such an uncommon share of its ætherial spirit to remain unemployed, nor bestowed on him his genius unaccompanied by the corresponding duty of devoting it to the common good. To have framed a constitution, was showing only, without realizing the general happiness. This great work remained to be done, and America, steadfast in her preference, with one voice summoned her beloved WASHINGTON, unpractised as he was in the duties of civil

administration, to execute this last act in the completion of the National felicity. Obedient to her call, he assumed the high office with that self-distrust peculiar to his innate modesty, the constant attendant of pre-eminent virtue.—What was the burst of joy through our anxious land on this exhilarating event is known to us all. The aged, the young, the brave, the fair, rivall-ed each other in demonstrations of their gratitude ; and this high wrought delightful scene was heightened in its effect by the singular contest between the zeal of the bestowers and the avoidance of the receiver of the honors bestowed. Commencing his administration, what heart is not charmed with the recollection of the pure and wise principles announced by himself, as the basis of his political life ? He best understood the indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and individual felicity : watching with an equal and comprehensive eye over this great assemblage of communities and interests, he laid the foundations of our National policy in

the unerring immutable principles of morality, based on religion, exemplifying the pre-eminence of free government, by all the attributes which win the affections of its citizens or command the respect of the world.

“O fortunatos divium, sua si bona norint !”

LEADING thro the complicated difficulties produced by previous obligations and conflicting interests, seconded by succeeding Houses of Congress, enlightened and patriotic, he surmounted all original obstructions, and brightened the path of our National felicity.

THE Presidential term expiring, his solicitude to exchange exaltation for humility returned, with a force increased with increase of age ; and he had prepared his farewell address to his Countrymen proclaiming his intention, when the united interposition of all around him, enforced by the eventful prospects of the epoch, produced a further sacrifice of inclination to duty. The election of President followed, and WASHINGTON, by the unanimous vote of the Nation, was called to resume the Chief Magistracy : what a wonderful fix-

ture of confidence !—Which attracts most our admiration, a people so correct, or a citizen combining an assemblage of talents forbidding rivalry, and stifling even envy itself? Such a Nation deserves to be happy, such a Chief must be forever revered.

WAR, long menaced by the Indian tribes, now broke out; and the terrible conflict deluging Europe with blood, began to shed its baneful influence over our happy land. To the first outstretching his invincible arm, under the orders of the gallant Wayne, the American Eagle soared triumphant through distant forests. Peace followed victory, and the melioration of the condition of the enemy followed peace. Godlike virtue, which uplifts even the subdued savage!

To the second he opposed himself. New and delicate was the conjuncture, and great was the stake. Soon did his penetrating mind discern and seize the only course, continuing to us all, the blessings enjoyed. He issued his proclamation of neutrality. This index to his whole subsequent conduct, was sanctioned by the ap-

probation of both houses of Congress, and by the approving voice of the people.

To this sublime policy he inviolably adhered, unmoved by foreign intrusion, unshaken by domestic turbulence.

“ Justum et tenacem propositi virum,
“ Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
“ Non vultus instantis tyranni
“ Mente quatit solida.

MAINTAINING his pacific system at the expence of no duty, America faithful to herself and unstained in her honor, continued to enjoy the delights of peace, while afflicted Europe mourns in every quarter under the accumulated miseries of an unexampled war; miseries in which our happy country must have shared, had not our pre-eminent WASHINGTON been as firm in council as he was brave in the field.

PURSUING stedfastly his course he held safe the public happiness, preventing foreign war, and quelling internal disorder, till the revolving period of a third

election approached, when he executed his interrupted but inextinguishable desire of returning to the humble walks of private life.

THE promulgation of his fixed resolution, stopped the anxious wishes of an affectionate people from adding a third unanimous testimonial of their unabated confidence in the man so long enthroned in their hearts. When, before, was affection like this exhibited on earth?—Turn over the records of ancient Greece—Review the annals of mighty Rome—examine the volumes of modern Europe: you search in vain. America and her WASHINGTON only afford the dignified exemplification.

THE illustrious personage called by the national voice in succession to the arduous office of guiding a free people, had new difficulties to encounter; the amicable effort of settling our difficulties with France, begun by WASHINGTON, and pursued by his successor invirtue as in station, proving abortive, America took measures of

self-defence. No sooner was the public mind roused by a prospect of danger, than every eye was turned to the friend of all, though secluded from public view, and grey in public service ; the virtuous veteran following his plough,† received the unexpected summons with mingled emotions of indignation, at the unmerited ill-treatment of his country, and of a determination once more to risk his all in her defence.

THE annunciation of these feelings, in his affecting letter to the President, accepting the command of the army, concludes his official conduct.

FIRST in war—first in peace—and first in the hearts of his countrymen, he was second to none in the humble and endearing scenes of private life ; pious, just, humane, temperate and sincere ; uniform, dignified, and commanding, his example was as edifying to all around him, as were the effects of that example lasting.

† GENERAL WASHINGTON, though opulent, gave much of his time and attention to practical agriculture.

To his equals he was condescending, to his inferiors kind, and to the dear object of his affections, exemplarily tender; correct throughout, vice shuddered in his presence, and virtue always felt his fostering hand; the purity of his private character gave effulgence to his public virtues.

His last scene comported with the whole tenor of his life—Although in extreme pain, not a sigh, not a groan escaped him; and with undisturbed serenity he closed his well spent life. Such was the man America has lost—Such was the man for whom our nation mourns.

METHINKS I see his august image, and hear falling from his venerable lips these deep sinking words:

“CEASE, Sons of America, lamenting our separation: Go on, and confirm by your wisdom the fruits of our joint councils, joint efforts, and common dangers: reverence religion; diffuse knowledge throughout your land; patronize the Arts and sciences; let Liberty and Order be inseparable companions. Controul party spirit, the bane of free Government; ob-

serve good faith to, and cultivate peace with all nations ; shut up every avenue to foreign influence ; contract rather than extend national connection ; rely on yourselves only : Be Americans in thought, word, and deed—Thus will you give immortality to that union, which was the constant object of my terrestrial labors ; thus will you preserve undisturbed to the latest posterity, the felicity of a people to me most dear ; and thus will you supply (if my happiness is now aught to you) the only vacancy in the round of pure bliss high Heaven bestows.”

EULOGY,

ON THE LIFE OF GENERAL GEORGE
WASHINGTON, DELIVERED AT
NEWBURYPORT, 2d.
JANUARY, 1800.

BY THOMAS PAINE, A. M.

AMERICANS.

THE Saviour of your country has obtained his last victory. Having reached the summit of human perfection, he has quitted the region of human glory. *Conqueror of Time*, he has triumphed over mortality; *Legate of Heaven*, he has returned with the tidings of his mission; *Father of his People*, he has ascended to advocate their cause in the bosom of his God. Solemn, "as it were a pause in nature," was his transit to eternity;—thronged by the shades of heroes, his approach to the confines of bliss;—pæaned by the song of angels, his journey beyond the stars!

THE voice of a grateful and afflicted people has pronounced the eulogium of their departed hero—" *First in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen.*" That this exalted tribute is justly due to his memory, the scar-honored veteran, who has fought under the banners of his glory, the enraptured statesman, who has bowed to the dominion of his eloquence, the hardy cultivator, whose soil has been defended by the prodigies of his valor, the protected citizen, whose peaceful rights have been secured by the vigilance of his wisdom ; yea, every fibre, that can vibrate in the heart of an American, will attest with agonized sensibility.

BORN to direct the destiny of empires, his character was as majestic, as the events, to which it was attached, were illustrious. In the delineation of its features, the vivid pencil of Genius cannot brighten a trait, nor the blighting breath of Calumny obscure. His principles were the result of organic philosophy, his success of moral justice. His integrity assumed the port of command, his intelligence the aspect of inspiration. Glory, to *many im-*

pregnable, he obtained without ambition ; —popularity, to *all* inconstant, he enjoyed without jealousy. The one was his from admiration, the other from gratitude. The former embellished, but could not reward ; the latter followed, but never could lead him. The robust vigor of his virtue, like the undazzled eye of the Eagle, was inaccessible to human weakness ; and the un-aspiring temperament of his passions, like the regenerating ashes of the Phoenix, gave new life to the greatness it could not extinguish. In the imperial dignity of his person, was exhibited the august stature of his mind :

“ See what a grace was seated on his brow,
“ An eye like Mars, the front of Jove himself,
“ A combination, and a form indeed,
“ Where every God did seem to set his seal,
“ To give the world assurance of a man !”*

OPPRESSED by the disconsolate sensibilities, which this melancholy occasion has excited, yet inspired by a veneration, which no sense of calamity can suspend, how shall the feeble eulogist of the mo-

* Shakespear,

ment retrace the path of the Hero through the rugged acclivities of his fame—how shadow the outlines of a life, whose influence on society has baffled the imitation of the wise—how define the great proportions of a character, which, like the electric principle, can only be described by its effects? What wing of human description shall soar to the unclouded height of his talents—what chemistry of human judgment shall separate the elements of his virtues?—The magnificence of his deeds has outvied the heraldry of fancy—and the purity of his motives has bewildered the deductions of reason.

FROM his first appearance on the theatre of public life, ere the modest simplicity of enterprize had invited the decorations of artificial honor, ere the “hairbreadth escapes” of the *Monongahela* had elicited the native energies of heroism, to the maturest era of his excellence, when victory had nothing left to bestow, and Fame herself had despaired of rendering to his merits their equivalent reward, we behold the same undeviating course of magnanimous action, rising, like the sun, in

gradual and majestic progression. In no situation, to which the emergencies of his country have called him, however insulated with peril, or fortified by prosperity, do we at any time detect his invincible equanimity, modified by incident. In no climax of fortune, do we behold him, dejected by obstacle, or elevated by success ;—desperate in danger, or sanguine in triumph. Deliberate to concert, he was vigorous to execute ;—intrepid to conquer, he was humane to forgive. In council, he united the calculations of the veteran, to the ruling impulse of the patriot :—In battle, he never shed the blood of an enemy but for victory, nor gained a victory but for his country.

As the director of that important and dubious contest, which issued in the establishment of our liberty and Independence, he displayed an impressive grandeur of exertion, which marshalled into hostility the fluctuating vigor of his countrymen, and is still remembered with awe in the astonishment of nations. To the rapacious cabinet of the mother country, which had recently learnt, in the disastrous campaign of

Braddock, that her glory was mortal, he had given his name a formidable estimation by his military prowess on that memorable occasion. In the enjoyment of an ample paternal domain, he was reposing under the groves of Fame and Philosophy, when the chafed lion of New-England "leaped on the daring huntsman, that had galled him," and boldly bade defiance to his power. The dawn of our revolution was overshadowed with clouds, that would have damped the ardor of any people, whose bosoms were not inspired by the uncontrollable enthusiasm of liberty. But what hope of success could this high-born principle, though stimulated by injury, afford to the unwarlike peasantry of a country, without arms, without discipline, without funds, without a leader, in contending with an empire, whose policy and valor had for centuries kept the nations of Europe in its toils? Yet, at this inauspicious juncture, when every prospect was enveloped with disaster, when unsuccessful opposition could promise no reward but aggravated oppression, when political infidelity had almost chilled with dismay the kindling fervor of Americans;—at this mo-

ment, so portentous, so gloomy, did the calm, inflexible, unassimilating WASHINGTON, relinquish without reluctance the magnificent retirement of wealth and honor ; and, committing to the hazard of the contest, the pleasures that allured him to seclusion, and the character that attached him to life, appealed to the God of armies to attest a soldier's oath—" *I will triumph, or die with my countrymen !*"—— Animated by his guiding intelligence, America awoke to the consciousness of her powers ; and, realising the boast of the Roman hero, an army, organized by his creative discipline, arose at his command.

THROUGH the vicissitudes of a war, singularly fluctuating in its fortunes, and desolating in its effects, he discovered a constant principle of action, which acquired no lustre from the brilliant exploits it achieved, but derived all its glory from its own original greatness. Self-dependent, and self-elevated, it disdained the fictitious aid of circumstance ; and never did it shine with more splendor and energy, than when fortune had deserted him, and his country had despaired. The activity of a fortitude,

whose stability was reason, invigorated the operations of an intellect, whose object was liberty. What but this invincible constitution of soul, whose gigantic philosophy always rose with the difficulties it encountered, could have sustained the drooping cause of an half-conquered people, at that momentous and almost hopeless crisis, when the banks of the Delaware were lined by a triumphant enemy, impatient for our subjugation; when the ranks of our brave defenders, thinned by battle, by famine and retreat, crimsoned their flying encampments with the blood of their footsteps; when the fate of a continent was suspended on the incredible exertions of a night, and a conspiracy of the elements opposed the progress of the eventful enterprise! The mind, that was inaccessible to despair, was invulnerable to disaster; and at the instant, when the fangs of our Invader were unclutched to fasten on his prey, when his pampered ambition was gloating on the spoils of unconditional submission, the distant thunder of the cannon at *Trenton* aroused him from his dreams of dominion, and convinced him that the resources of a WASHINGTON were not

to be computed by the extent of his entrenchments, nor his activity to be palsied by a campaign of disasters.

To the pen of the historian must be resigned the more arduous and elaborate tribute of justice to those efforts of heroic and political virtue, which conducted the American people to peace and liberty.—The vanquished foe retired from our respiring shores, and left to the *Controlling Genius*, who repelled them, the gratitude of his own country, and the admiration of the world. The time had now arrived, which was to apply the touchstone to his integrity—which was to assay the affinity of his principles to the standard of immutable right. Enjoying the unbounded confidence of an emancipated people, whose filial reverence had associated in his character, a greatness, unexampled by patriotism, with a purity, unfurled by suspicion—and commanding the implicit affections of an army of veterans, whose unliquidated demands, on the justice of an impoverished public, might have rendered them zealous instruments of ambition—the deliverer of his country was now the arbi-

ter of its fate. It was now the flood-tide of his glory, on which he had only to embark, and the current would have wafted him to his haven. That decisive moment in the existence of nations and men, on which the destinies of both are suspended, was now flitting on the dial's point of the crisis.—On the one hand, a realm, to which he was endeared by his services, almost invited him to empire: On the other, the liberty, to whose protection his life had been devoted, was the ornament and boon of human nature.—WASHINGTON could not depart from his own great self. His country was free;—he was no longer a General! Sublime spectacle! more elevating to the pride of virtue, than the sovereignty of the globe united to the sceptre of ages! Enthroned in the hearts of his countrymen, the gorgeous pageantry of prerogative was unworthy the majesty of his dominion. That effulgence of military character, which in ancient states has blasted the rights of the people, whose renown it had brightened, was not *here* permitted, by the hero, from whom it emanated, to shine with so destructive a lustre. Its beams, though intensely resplendent, did

not wither the young blossoms of our Independence; and liberty, like the *burning bush*, flourished unconsumed by the glory which surrounded it.

To the illustrious founder of our republic was it reserved, to exhibit the example of a magnanimity, that commanded victory—of a moderation, that retired from triumph. Unlike the erratic meteors of ambition, whose flaming path sheds a disastrous light on the pages of history, his bright orb, eclipsing the luminaries, among which it rolled, never portended “fearful change” to religion, nor from its “golden tresses” shook pestilence on empire. What to *other* heroes has been glory, would to *him* have been disgrace. To *his* intrepidity it would have added no honorary trophy, to have waded, like the conqueror of *Peru*, through the blood of credulous millions, to plant the standard of triumph at the burning mouth of a volcano! To *his* fame it would have erected no auxiliary monument, to have invaded, like the ravager of *Egypt*, an innocent, though barbarous nation, to inscribe his name on the pillar of *Pompey*!

SELF, the grand hinge, on which revolve the principles and passions, that have swelled the obituary of nations, made not an unit in the calculations of a mind, which considered grandeur as the inseparable incident of rectitude;—which owed to fortune nothing of its glory, to enthusiasm nothing of its virtue. From “heaven’s high chancery” had issued his commission;—he obeyed the godlike precept it contained;—he created a nation! The glorious work completed, so was his ambition. The reward of his labors was the enjoyment of that liberty he had protected from violation; and the boast of his pride was the cultivation of that soil he had defended from subjection. Amid the fondest caresses of fame, that pursued him to retirement——blush ye heroic murderers of mankind!—never did the transcendent WASHINGTON, on the pinnacle of his greatness, deign to be conscious, that by *his* talents his country was free—that in *her* glory himself was immortal!

PUBLIC opinion has in all ages been as volatile as the air, that wafts it;—and the fate, which has attended the benefactors of

their country, has been as chequered as the passions, and perverse as the ingratitude of man. A tyrant, fainted by the people he had enslaved, has been elevated to a niche in the Pantheon ; while a hero, whose talents and services had propped a falling empire, has found at last a more faithful friend in the mastiff that conducted him, than in the nation he had protected. But it has been the peculiar lot of a WASHINGTON, to unite to an integrity, which could impeach the ambition of malice, the vigilance of an enterprise, which could arrest the decisions of fortune. Through the long labors of a life, which forms an epoch in history, never for a moment was he rivalled in the affections of his countrymen ; and to the honor of Americans, be it recorded, that their gratitude to the man, who had established their Independence, existed, at the period of impending anarchy, the only cementing bond of union, which preserved their jarring interests from a destructive collision.

THE temporary structure of the old confederation, which had been planned merely for the purposes of a revolutionary

government, when the passions of the people were united, was found, upon a brief experiment, to be totally incompetent to direct the affairs of an extending nation, when peace had restored the complicated occupations of life, and demanded a more uniform protection from the energies of law. The inconveniences, resulting from its defects, had given occasion to designing demagogues, who hoped to profit by a separation of the States, to foment divisions among a people, who too lightly valued the blessings they enjoyed. The union of the country was in danger; and the evil was of too baneful a nature to admit of a partial or dilatory remedy. But, how novel, how aspiring, was the hope of connecting, under one compact code of general jurisprudence, so many distinct sovereignties, each jealous of its independence, without impairing their respective authorities! The unbalanced bodies of the confederacy had almost overcome the attracting power, that restrained them; when the watchful guardian of his country's interests, the heart-uniting WASHINGTON appeared, the political magnet in the center of discord, and reconciled and consolidated the clash-

ing particles of the system in an indissoluble union of government.

POSSESSING, as well from experience, as intuition, the master science, that could direct the impulses of human action;—and invested, by the crowded benefactions of a life of glory, with a charm of eloquence, which impressed the convictions of reason on the pliant gratitude of his countrymen;—he ruled in the councils of that august body of statesmen and patriots, the fruit of whose co-operating talents was the present Constitution of America. By the unanimous suffrage of an enlightened and confiding people, appointed to the administration of a government, in whose construction he had exerted so beneficial an influence, he brought, to the execution of that important and arduous trust, the energy of a mind, whose elevation could borrow no dignity from station, and the integrity of a heart, whose sensibility could receive no bias but from his country. With what wisdom and vigor he discharged the hazardous and thronging duties of an incipient magistracy, the revival of political harmony, the extended confidence of commerce, the unexampled increase of national credit

and wealth, and the happiness and morality of the people, will furnish a more satisfactory evidence, than the most brilliant description of the panegyrist. In this unprecedented transition of office, his character had assumed a new and astonishing attitude ;—the impenetrable hardihood of the conqueror was rivalled by the intelligent policy of the statesman. Pierced by the glance of his administration, *Party*, like the recreant eye of the felon, shrunk abashed from his scrutiny ;—and unnerved by the sanctity of his person, *Degeneracy*, like the viper at *Melita*, fell harmless from his hand.—Appalled by the oppressive contemplation of his greatness, the “cloud-capt” crest of *Ambition* was overawed by the majesty of virtue ;—and, maddened to desperation by the invulnerable purity of his life, the snakes of *Envy* recoiled upon the head of their mistress, and burrowed to the brain, that supplied their venom.

EXEMPLAR of *Heroes* ! in what favored nation, or era, shall the exulting philanthropist record the existence of a character, uniting, like thine, in one bright constellation of talents, every civic and military glory, that blazons in legend, or

beams in history?—Should we search in the archives of classic antiquity, we might find a wise and venerable *Fabius*, who, like thee, could “save a nation by delay;”—but never, like thee, could seize victory by enterprize, and outstride fortune by the foresight of philosophy!—We might behold the majestic *Cincinnatus*, who, like thee, in the vigor of Roman heroism, could return from the conquest of his country’s enemies, to his humble *Mount Verrina* beyond the *Tyber*;—but never, like thee, to protect from faction the liberties he had wrested from invasion! We might trace the great *Julius*, extending the terror of his eagles, through realms, before unshadowed by their pinions;—we might follow him to the forum, and listen to an eloquence, like thine, when applauding senates instinctly moved at his control;—but *where*, in the map of *thy* victories, shall we find the banks of a *Rubicon*!

ENCUMBERED with honors, the father of his country once more returned to the unambitious abodes of his affection, followed by the tears & blessings of his fellow-citizens! The glory, which had encircled the

scenes of his action, could not be excluded by the solitude of retirement. He had divested the insignia of command, but his empire was not diminished. He had surrendered the badges of fame—but the gaze of the world did not suspend its veneration. The *name* of WASHINGTON was still a battlement to his country, under whose protection liberty exulted, at whose terrors hostility trembled.

THOUGH remote from the causes of European contest, yet affected by the convulsions it excited, in vain had our Nation attempted to maintain with honor an unprotected neutrality. Piracy plundered the ocean; Invasion threatened our shores.—Again, were the eyes of America directed with trembling solicitude to her venerable deliverer; and, *again* did this *Man without example, this Patriot without reproach*, whose life was his country, whose glory was mankind, resign with alacrity, to the cause he had sworn to defend, the tranquil hope of repose, to which he had devoted the unclouded evening of a life of toils!—The character was perfect! WASHINGTON now touched “the highest point of all his

greatness." A more than human splendor surrounded him. The ethereal spirit of his virtues towered above the globe they adorned, and seemed to meditate their departure to their native mansion. Of the frailty of man, nothing now remained but his mortality ; and, having accomplished the embassy of a benevolent Providence—having been the founder of one Nation, and the sublime instructor of all—*He took his flight to Heaven ; not like Mahomet, for his memory is immortal without the fiction of a miracle ; not like Elijah, for recording Time has not registered the man, on whom his mantle should descend ; but in humble imitation of that Omnipotent Architect, who returned from a created universe, to contemplate from his throne the stupendous fabric he had erected !*

THE august form, whose undaunted majesty could arrest the lightening, ere it fell on the bosom of his country, now sleeps in silent ruin, untenanted of its celestial essence. But the incorruptible example of his virtues shall survive, unimpaired by the corrosion of time ; and acquire new vigor and influence, from the crimes of ambition, and the decay of empires.

The invaluable valediction, bequeathed to the people, who inherited his affections, is the effort of a mind, whose powers, like those of prophecy, could overleap the tardy progress of human reason, and unfold truth without the labor of investigation. Impressed in indelible characters, this *Legacy of his Intelligence* will descend, unfulled as its purity, to the wonder and instruction of succeeding generations ; and, should the mild philosophy of its maxims be ingrafted into the policy of nations, at no distant period will the departed hero, who now lives only in the spotless splendor of his own great actions, exist in the happiness and dignity of mankind.

THE sighs of cotemporary gratitude have attended the *SUBLIME SPIRIT* to its paternal abode ; and the prayers of ameliorated posterity will ascend in glowing remembrance of their illustrious benefactor ! The laurels, that now droop, as they shadow his tomb with monumental glory, will be cultivated by the tears of ages ; and, embalmed in the heart of an admiring world, the temple, erected to his memory, will be more glorious than the *pyramids*, and as eternal as his own imperishable virtues !

EULOGY,

ON GEORGE WASHINGTON, DE-
LIVERED AT THE REQUEST
OF THE INHABITANTS
OF BOSTON, JANUA-
RY 9th, 1800.

BY GEORGE R. MINOT, A. M. A. A. S.

OUR duty, my Fellow-Townsmen, on this distressing occasion, is dictated by the dignity and resplendent virtue of the beloved Man whose death we deplore. We assemble to pay a debt to departed merit, a debt which we can only pay by the sincerity of our grief, and the respectful effusions of gratitude; for the highest eulogy left us to bestow upon our lamented WASHINGTON, is the strict narration of the truth; and the loftiest character which we can assign to him, is the very

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display of himself. When ambition allies itself to guilt, when power tramples upon right, when victory triumphs in blood, when piety sits clouded in superstition, when humility is affected by cunning, when patriotism is founded on selfishness; then let adulation spread her prostituted mantle, to screen the disgraces of her patrons, and amuse with the falsehoods of her imagination. But to our political Father, the faithful page of history is panegyric, and the happiness of his country is the monument of his fame.

COME, then, Warriors! Statesmen! Philosophers! Citizens! assemble round the tomb of this favorite son of virtue; with all the luxury of sorrow recollect the important events of his life, and partake of the greatest legacy which a mortal could bequeath you, in the contemplation of his example. Whilst we solemnize this act, his disembodied spirit, if it be permitted to retrace the scenes of its terrestrial existence, will smile with approbation on the instructive rite.

YOUR anniversaries have long honored the eleventh of February,* one thousand seven hundred and thirty-two, as the birthday of our illustrious Chief, and the parish of his own name in Westmoreland county, in Virginia, boasts itself the place of his nativity. But to souls like his, local restrictions are not attached. Where Liberty was, there would be his country: Happy for us, the Genius of Liberty, responsive to his affections, resolved that where WASHINGTON was, there also should be her abode.

EDUCATED by private instruction, his virtue grew with his knowledge, and the useful branches of literature occupied the whole powers of his mind. Exemplary for solidity of thought, and chastity of morals, he was honored by the government of Virginia, with an important mission, at an age when the levities of the human character seldom yield to the earliest operation of reason.

AT the opening of the great war of encroachments upon our western frontiers, he was the bearer of the remonstrance to

* OLD Style.

the French. Such was the address, fidelity and perseverance with which he executed this important trust, that he was honored at twenty-two years of age with the command of a regiment raised by his province. His military talents were soon called to the test. At Redstone, Victory perched upon his standard ; but, with that volatility by which she tries the powers of her favorite heroes, she in a few months afterwards left him, by his own exertions, to save the honors of war for his little band, in an unequal, but well supported battle. In *Braddock's* slaughtered army, he was a witness to scenes of horror, which his caution, had it been adopted, would have prevented, and which his steady courage assisted much to retrieve. During the remainder of this war, he was employed in fortifying his native province, in arranging and perfecting its militia, and in checking the incursions of the enemy, until the crisis of the contest had passed in this country, when he resigned his command.

RETIREMENT to him was only a different mode of action, and his repose partook not of indolence. Amidst the hon-

orable pursuits of agriculture, he discharged various civil offices, until we find him rising amongst the patriots of our country, as a delegate from Virginia, in the first American Congress.

WE shall ever remember the fifteenth day of June, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, when Providence directed to his appointment as the Commander in Chief of our revolutionary army. In this neighborhood he first drew his sword. Many of you, my Fellow-Townsmen, were then languishing under the fetters of tyranny, or were imprisoned within the joyless confines of your own habitations. Your hope was fixed on him. His command, independent of the resources of his own mind, afforded no ground for the support of your feelings. He had an army brave indeed, but with little discipline; naked at the approach of winter; and almost subject to dissolution from temporary enlistments; a pay-master without money; a commissary struggling on the utmost stretch of credit. A veteran army lay under his eye strongly fortified, regularly paid, warmly clothed,

and boasting its superiority to militia. Yet did his victorious sword relieve you, and save your city. Justly have you ascribed "your reinstatement to his wise arrangements, which compelled your invaders to adopt a less destructive policy than that which on other occasions they so wantonly practised." Could our gratitude forget it, the heights around us bear the triumphant evidence of his conquest.

To trace this protector of our liberties through his unrivalled career, from his gloomy retreat through the Jerseys to his several victories and his splendid triumph at York-Town, would be to narrate the varying history of our Revolution. To him, public labor was amusement, suffering in the cause of freedom was a luxury, and every hour as it flew carried an offering to his country.

As obedience to the voice of his oppressed fellow-citizens drew his sword on the approach of war, so at the declaration of peace, by the same respected voice he restored it to its scabbard. He left them his blessing and their liberties. O Human

Nature, how hast thou been traduced! With thee, has it been said, is essentially connected that lust of power which is insatiable; which restores not voluntarily what has been committed to its charge; which devours all rights, and resolves all laws into its own authority; which labors not for others, but seizes the fruits of their labors for itself; which breaks down all barriers of religion, society and nature that obstruct its course; now art thou vindicated! Here we behold thee allied to virtue, worn in the service of mankind, superior to the meanness of compensation, humbly hoping for the thanks of thy country alone, faithfully surrendering the sword, with which thou wast entrusted, and yielding up power with a promptness and facility equalled only by the diffidence and reluctance with which thou receivedst it.

Now will the future inquirer say, this Hero has finished the task assigned him, the measure of his glory is full. A world is admitted to freedom—a Nation is born. Favored beyond the leader of Israel, not only with the prospect, but with the fruition of the promised blessing, he has retired

like that prince of meekness, to the *Mount*, whence he is to ascend, unseen by a weeping people, to the reward of all his labors. No, he is to live another life upon this globe ; he is to reap a double harvest in the field of perennial honor. The people whom he has saved from external tyranny, suffer from the agitations of their own unsettled powers. The tree of Liberty which he has planted, and so carefully guarded from the storms, now flourishes beyond its strength ; its lofty excrescences threaten to tear its less extended roots from the earth, and to prostrate it fruitless on the plain. But, he comes ! In Convention he presides over councils, as in war he had led the battle. The Constitution, like the rainbow after the flood, appears to us, now just emerging from an overwhelming commotion ; and we know the truth of the pledge from the sanction of his name.

THE production was worthy of its authors, and of the magnanimous people whom it was intended to establish. You adopt it, you cherish it, and you resolve to transmit it, with the name of WASHING-

TON, to the latest generation, who shall prove their just claim to such an illustrious descent.

WHO was so worthy, as our great Legislator, to direct the operations of a Government which his councils and his sword had labored to erect? By a unanimous suffrage he was invited to the exalted station of President of the United States. The call was too sacred to admit of doubt: It superceded the happiness of retirement, the demands of private interest, the sweet attractions of domestic society, and the hazard (forgive it WASHINGTON! for thou wast mortal) the hazard of public reputation. Behold the man on this occasion so mighty in the eye of all the world, so humble in his own! He accepts the high appointment with such distrust of his natural endowments, with such diffidence in his capacity, as can be relieved only by his reliance on that Almighty BEING, "who rules over the Universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect."

ONE of the earliest acts of his administration was that circular visit to transfuse his love, and receive the grateful benedictions of his loving countrymen, in which you, my Fellow Townsmen, partook so liberal a share. What sensations rushed upon your minds, when you compared the dreadful aspect of your besieged city, with its now smiling condition. The well-cultivated fields were screening from view the late terrific ramparts of the enemy, and the groans of the distressed had yielded to the busy noise of commerce and pleasure. How grateful now is the recollection, that with tears of joy you crowded to meet him in your streets, displaying the very insignia which you this day bear in mournful procession; and your children, bowing their heads with eager solicitude to attract his fatherly eye, received his pious blessing.

DID the occasion admit of it, how pleasing would be the review of his administration, as our Supreme Executive Magistrate! His talents and his virtues increased with his cares. His soul seemed not to bear the limits of office, a moment after the obligations of duty and patriotism

withdrew their restraints from his universal love. When the misguided savages of the wilderness, after feeling his chastisement, had sued for peace, he seemed to labor for their happiness as the common Representative of mankind. Insurrection was so struck at his countenance, that it fled from the shock of his arms. Intrigue attempted to entangle him in her poisonous web, but he burst it with gigantic strength, and crushed her labors. Anarchy looked out from her cavern, and was dashed into oblivion as we trust, forever. The nations of Europe saw the wisdom of our laws, the vigor of our measures, the justice of our policy, the firmness of our government, and acquiesced in the neutrality of our station.

THE dangers of the Commonwealth having subsided at the close of his second administration, he felt himself justified, after dedicating forty-five years of his valuable life to her service, in withdrawing to receive with resignation the great change of nature, which his age and his toils demonstrated to be near. When he declined your future suffrages, he left you a legacy,

What ! like Cesar's to the Romans, money for your sports ? Like Attalus's, a kingdom for your tyranny ? No ; he left you not such baubles, nor for such purposes. He left you the records of wisdom for your government : a mirror for the faithful representation to your own view, of yourselves, your weaknesses, your advantages, your dangers : a magnet which points to the secret mines and windings of party spirit, faction, Foreign influence : a pillar to the unity of your Republic : a band to inclose, conciliate, and strengthen the whole of your wonderful and almost boundless communities. Read, preserve the sacred deposit ; and lest posterity should forget the truth of its maxims, engrave them on his tomb, that they may read them when they weep before it.

In his second resignation of power and the charms of office, the American Leader appears superior to ancient or modern examples. Yet another grade was assigned to his virtue. Our national rights, so well defended at home, were invaded on the ocean. The alarm reaches his retreat ; the honor of our Republic warms his

heart ; and he again accepts the sword for its defence from the hand of another, placed by the voice of the people in that Supreme Magistracy, which he alone had heretofore filled. With a less dignified soul, this official inferiority might have availed to injure his country ; but he who could descend from the head of a nation, to discharge the minutest duties of a private citizen, was too great to allow the influence of etiquette to endanger the safety of the people. His condescension raises him above himself ; his spirit fires all ranks of men ; he is overwhelmed with the gratitude and applause of an enraptured nation.

WHILST we confide in his arm, and are marshalling our warriors to march under his banners, the GOD of armies, whose counsels are beyond the scrutiny of man, prepares for us the test of our submission to his chastising rod. It is decreed that our WASHINGTON shall die, but that his death shall be worthy of his life. He is to die by the hand of Virtue. The rapid disease which is selected as the instrument of his dissolution, instantaneously seizes him.

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His humanity delays the immediate aid to which alone it may yield. Inconsolable Domestics! what storms would you not have braved, what hazards would you not have encountered, to save that life which was sacrificed to your comfort and safety! At length Science flies to save him. Alas! what avails its skill against the mandate of Heaven? It comes too late!—It is finished.

WONDERFUL event! Greatness departs in glory, and envy is silent! All acknowledge him to be the first of citizens, and none feel hurt by his superiority. So impartial was he, that none impeach his justice; so moderate, none complain of his power; so magnanimous, his conquered enemies applaud his humanity; so philanthropic, that neither colour, nor climate, nor religion, nor politics could exclude the unfortunate from his succor. He had the habit of combining sentiment with action in such method and force, that he shed his benevolence on communities of men with the same ease as the sudden impulse of momentary sensibility bestows it upon individuals. Unexampled virtue! allotted to its merited reward. Many founders of nations have

been left to obtain from posterity that reputation which prejudice or bigotry has denied at their deaths. The tomb has been necessary to bury anger, petty interests and emulation, which barred an equitable judgment. But in regard to this Sage, the gratitude of his country has been co-existent with his exertions. Time has not been required to remove him from our view, in order to magnify his exploits through the medium of fame ; nor was it requisite that we should be deprived of the good he had done us, to entertain a just sense of its importance. Medals and statues have been decreed him when living, and your tears announce his greater triumph in your hearts, when dead. Disinterested love ! What motives have you, freemen, for thus offering up your applause ? He has now no shield to defend you from the invasions of your enemies ; his head lies cold in the grave, and no counsel can arise from his lips. His eyes were closed by his own unshaken hand, and no smile can now beam from his countenance to animate your troops. Grateful Republicans ! indeed you weep not from selfishness. Afflicted with

the thought of the blessings which he has showered upon yourselves and your children, you would call him, could your voice be heard, from the closed mansions of the dead, again to receive the tribute of your affection. You weep for her, whose tender participation in the anxieties of a husband relieved his cares, and protracted the invaluable life which love itself could no longer detain. Disconsolate woman! mourn not; for the faithful is gone to receive the reward of his uprightness. The whole desire of his heart, the whole pursuit of his labors has been the good of his fellow-men. Contrast him with those who have been raised by the empty, the criminal admiration of mankind, to the highest ranks in the Pantheon of fame. See one instead of liberating and protecting, employed in conquering and enslaving a world, and weeping that his guilty task could be continued no longer. Another retiring from the purple, not with the united blessings of all religious sects, but the bigoted persecutor of the only rational and divine religion: See the master of so many crowns, after yielding them up for a convent, instead of

interesting himself in the welfare of mankind to the hour of his departure, relapsing into the absurdities of monkish superstition: and another, whose ashes are scarcely cold, slaughtering the armies of half the nations of Europe, to extend the limits of an Electorate, with as much zeal as our departed Hero labored to extend the limits of freedom, civilization and morals. When so much worth steps off from the stage of life, the weakness of our nature is the only apology for our tears. Such an exit is not death, it is the triumph of the just.

Sons of Freedom! as you regard the memory of your ascended Chief, attend to the injunctions of his will. Remember that it was not for you alone he labored. It was for your posterity also; it was for the human race. For you and for them he was first in building the noblest political system that adorns the world. It is an experiment to ascertain the nature of man; whether he be capable of freedom, or whether he must be led by the reins of tyranny; whether he be endowed with that moderation and understanding which checks the

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extreme indulgence of his will ; and by allowing to others the same rational enjoyment with himself, forms the liberty of the whole upon the partial restraint of each individual ; or whether he must go on attempting to follow the dictates of selfishness, and find his only restraint in a power which will establish itself independent of his consent, and make him its slave. Who of us can be supposed to be so lost to himself, so forgetful of his children, and so traitorous to the world, as to contemplate the overthrow of this magnificent temple of wisdom ? No, my Fellow-Townsmen, whatever zeal may suddenly suggest, or apprehensions tempt us to suspect, there lives not a man among us, so depraved, so cursed by Heaven. Shall it be said, that the works of his hands whom we this day almost adore ; that the hope which he held out to the nations of the earth, shall be frustrated by our divisions ? To the honor of our country, not a man but answers, No : All, when rightly informed, wave their particular prejudices in support of the great pillar of our national union. It is our pride ; it was erected by our fathers ;

it is the standard of our defence. Let us then, with a view of forever maintaining it, banish all animosity, melt down all parties, wipe away all distinctions. Let us no longer designate men who have differed in sentiment, by odious epithets mutually reflected and mutually disavowed: But if a common name be wanted, let it be formed from his, whom we now seek to honor, and let it be used to denote good will to one another, respect to our Constitution, fortitude to our enemies, love to our country, devotion to our GOD.

IN the condolence of this day, we cannot fail to notice the honor which we feel by the presence of the Fathers of the State. It was not unbecoming the dignity of office, on such an occasion, to suspend its occupations and join the general sorrow. To devote this portion of time to his memory who devoted a long life to our happiness, is rational and just. Within the present political year, you, Honorable Magistrates and Legislators, in this place solemnized the obsequies of the late excellent Governor of our Commonwealth, the much respected SUMNER. Thus pass away the

wise, the virtuous and the faithful ; by an irrevocable decree, less-unwelcome to them, as it respects themselves, than grievous to us. Their lives are long enough for their own glory, but, alas ! still too necessary to their country's welfare. The experience of circumstances, which are necessary to form that effulgence of character, by which they enlighten, civilize and direct society, fall to the lot of few. When such lamps are extinguished, we are happy if our darkness be transient. But in your wisdom the people of our Commonwealth safely confide ; nor as members of our united country, do they mourn like those who are without hope ; for although in the present gloom of our political hemisphere, their late ruling planet has travelled to the morning of another clime, yet its kindred luminary rises on the horizon, brilliant, steady, and propitious to direct their course. They lament that their beloved WASHINGTON sleeps in death ; their consolation is, that his faithful Brother, the vigilant ADAMS, survives.

MASONIC EULOGY,

ON THE LIFE OF GEORGE WASHINGTON,
PRONOUNCED BEFORE THE BRETH-
REN OF ST. JOHN'S LODGE IN
BOSTON, 4th. FEBRUARY,
5800.

BY BROTHER GEORGE BLAKE.

LABOR, be at rest! *Mirth* let not thy voice be heard! *Joy*, our once sweet visitant, we have now no place for thee here! our Lodge has become the abode of melancholy and sorrow:—*Grief*, *oh, Grief!* most sincerely do we welcome thee to the hall of this fraternity; thou dull dismal messenger of woe, it is thy privilege to rule our Lodge this night; from heaven's high arch, art thou commissioned, by the weeping genius of *Masonry*, to take the charge of this her terrestrial habitation.

—We acknowledge thy credentials—they are attested by the signature of Death—we bow to thy authority—we yield to thy commands.—Come, then, *Grief!* dark and gloomy Spirit; we are now thy Brothers. At this moment we are ready to induct thee to office—to invest thee with the black symbols of stately promotion. In the *East*, where gay light once had dominion, there shalt thou sit enthroned on clouds and darkness:—In the *West* thy faithful *Wardens* are Sadness and Sympathy; and as the Sun fitteth in the *West*, to close the day, so do they sit there to draw thy cloudy mantle over this Lodge. Dressed in thy most dismal attire, we hail thee, *Grief*, as the master of this meeting;—for thy *Truncheon*, we give thee the Grave-man's *Mattock*:—on thy bosom will we fasten a beamless *Jewel*, that is covered by the fable vestment of night; for thy *Girdle*, thou shalt wear a *wandering moon beam*, whose glimmering light shall serve to make more visible the darkness of thy form. The *Tomb-Stone* is thy *Trussell Board*, and thy *Tow Line* shall be twisted from the finest chords of *Mason's hearts*.—Here then,

Grief, we await thy commands ; our *hearts*, and not our hands, will perform the joyless labors of the night. Our refreshment shall be the cup of bitterness, and when we have drunken it to the dregs, our bosoms, with *three times three thousand* pulsations, shall give the signal of our sincerity and unison.

BUT whence my Brothers and wherefore is all this gloom and stillness ? Why is the noise of the busy hammer suspended, and our ears greeted only by the slow beatings of kindred bosoms. Why has our noon tide *Sun* retired so soon to the dark chambers of the *West* ? Our Lodge, which has so often resounded with the voice of industry and mirth, is now silent as the mansion of death ; those dazzling luminaries, which have been wont to enlighten our labors, why are they extinguished ; why do they now refuse their accustomed radiance ? The *Compass*, the *Square*, the *Level*, the *Plumb*, and all those sparkling *Jewels*, once the pride and the ornament of *Masons*, are now concealed by a veil of blackness ; the cheerful song, which has so often welcomed the eve of labor, has

ceased to undulate—I hear nothing but the doleful melody of sighs and groans—where I have once seen the sprightly features of ease and contentment—where I have often beheld the expanded countenance of gladness and hilarity—through this dubious quivering light, I can now discern naught but the pale sickly visage of melancholy and sorrow. Need I ask, my Brothers, whence this awful change? Of our respected *Master* shall I inquire, why stands a tear trembling in his eye, or of you, my friends, why every breath seems to travel from the lungs in pain; or why this dismal night shade is more suited to the present “*habit of your souls*,” than the jocund aspect of day?—No! my own heart, my Brothers, resolves the mystery——WASHINGTON! OH WASHINGTON! OUR MASTER, OUR BROTHER, OUR FATHER, OUR FRIEND, WASHINGTON IS NO MORE!——He, who was greater than *Hiram*, better and more beloved than *Solomon*; he, whose virtues have been so long the example, the boast of our fraternity; whose countenance diffused splendor and brightness through the

wide *arch* of *Masonry*, has gone down in the *West*, has descended to the silent mansions of the dead. That perfect *Asbler* which stood at the East corner of our *Temple*; that *Stone* which the Builders selected, which was wrought and polished by the hand of God himself; that on which rested the main pillar of our *Fabric*, is torn away and removed by the resistless arm of *Death*; the strength of our building is decayed; its beauty and ornament are obliterated forever; the *Grand Architect* in heaven has recalled from his embassy, a being, who was sent to us, as a *light* to our designs, a *model* for our labors. *Pure Spirit of Masonry!* thy loss is irreparable. Well mayest thou now make the “dust thy paper, and with rainy tears, write sorrow on the bosom of the earth.”—The fairest *column* of thy earthly *Temple* is broken; the *column* on which the brightest features of thy character were engraven, is demolished, and in the *quarries* of heaven alone is there a precious stone to supply its place.

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THINK not, my Brothers, that I have felt it my duty, on the present occasion, to assist you in estimating the magnitude of your loss, by an attempt to display all the virtues of the wonderful man, whose death we commemorate. Forgive me, if I touch lightly on a few lineaments of a character, whose aggregate is not only far beyond my powers to describe ; but as far beyond my faculties to comprehend. A few days only have elapsed since I was first invited by my brethren to assist in this solemn offering of grief. In this busy, thoughtless, tumultuous world, I leave you to consider, what a small, very small portion of our reflection is fit to be dedicated to a subject so interesting, so sublimely affecting.—For myself, I can hardly contemplate the death of WASHINGTON without a feeling of piety and devotion ; I dared not think of the event, until I had purified my mind from every sentiment relating to the stale concerns of ordinary life ; and to speak of him, in this solemn Lodge, I should consider as nearly allied to blasphemy, had I not first cleansed my tongue from all the frivolous language to which it is accustomed.

WITH these impressions on my mind, few indeed must have been the moments I have had to prepare for this solemnity; but I complain not of their brevity, for *Time* himself could not lend me hours enough to complete the task—Had every minute of my leisure been protracted to months—had every month been prolonged to years, still should I have been but at the beginning of a duty, so stupendous as that of recording the virtues of our illustrious deceased. Were the flight of my fancy swift as a sun-beam; were the vision of my mind sharp as lightning, in the “collied night,” yet would they be slow in their progress, still must they loiter in the rear of his glory and renown. What then, my Brothers, can be expected of me, dull and feeble as I am; what can I say to magnify the Eulogium he deserved; to swell the tide of grief, that is now bursting from the eyes of his faithful, affectionate, and grateful countrymen. Compared to his virtues, and the world’s sorrow for his death, all the little praise in my power to bestow, is but as the transient night fly’s twinkle, to the steady lustre of the pole star

—my voice as a sigh to the whirlwind—
and our united sympathy but as a single
tear drop on the billows of ocean.

WERE we contemplating the character of other heroes and statesmen, whom history hath celebrated, well indeed might it be suspected that hypocrisy had put on for a while the vizard of grief ; that cold senseless duty has been blowing its studied praises through the trump of hollow adulation ; but on a theme like the present, language loses the power to exaggerate, and even dissimulation itself could hardly conjure up a pretence, that would reach in semblance to the height of reality. The character of WASHINGTON stood single and alone. In him all the qualities which constitute the excellence of man, however contrary in nature or repugnant in principle, were almost miraculously united and reconciled ;—with the ardor of his youth, was associated the temperance of age ; imagination was instructed by prudence, without being trammelled by timidity ; caution guided the steps of rashness, but fear did not retard the celerity of courage.

His first achievement in war, was but the experiment of youth ; and yet on the field of *Braddock*, his success seemed to have resulted alone, from the ripened experience of manhood. He was then little more than a beardless stripling, the leader of an undisciplined militia, “disdainfully thrown in the rear” of a veteran soldiery ; but on that memorable day, when victory had already pronounced a decision on the conflict, when death, furious and inclement, had reached to the very middle of his ranks, and with hideous yell, was in swift pursuit of a disordered and affrighted army, there did we behold our youthful hero, with calmness and serenity on his front, collected in the midst of carnage, and undismayed by the horrors that surrounded him. Awed by his presence, destiny forgot its resolves, and even death himself, as if outgeneraled by his management, abandoned in despair his half completed purpose of desolation.

BUT the presages of his youth, bold and promising as they were, have been more than consummated. At an early

period of life, the great properties of his mind were too resplendent to need an interpretation from scrutiny, and their tendency, too perspicuous to require an assurance from the tongue of prophecy.

OUR country was menaced by oppression! *Bellona's* scourge had already been tinged with the blood of our countrymen; our shores were shadowed by the floating messengers of destruction; and the very air we breathe, thickened by the smog of our conflagrated villages; when the voice of millions, almost at the same moment, with a kind of instinctive confidence, appealed for protection to the heroism of a WASHINGTON. At this perilous crisis, the heart of every American, like the trembling needle at the pole, rested on him as the last point of its dependence. Influenced by no other excitement than the purest love of his country, aided by few other resources, than the exhaustless arsenal of his own great mind, at a time when bravery might have faltered, and despair itself been disarmed of its resolution, did he become the bold decided champion of American liberty.

WITH what unshaken firmness, with what unerring fidelity, he executed the fearful duties of his station, it is thy business, *History!* to pronounce to future generations; thy work is already begun, and when the story is complete, it will be the largest, and the most instructive volume in thy Archives. In vain may thy *Plutarch* and *Polibius* vaunt their *Alexanders*, their *Hannibals*, the *Scipios* and *Cæsars*; all their boasted virtues would but serve as an appendix to the biography of *our* WASHINGTON. Faithful *Clio*, thou who presidest in the registry of human transactions, thy book and thy trumpet, which have been wont to report the deeds of *heroic murderers*, are now required for a new and more grateful employment; before thou writest the name of WASHINGTON, well mayest thou tear from thy records, the pages on which are inscribed the inevitable follies and crimes of mankind—well mayest thou now exult, there has once lived a man, who had power without ambition, glory without arrogance, fame without infatuation; a man who united the meekness of a christian, with the influence of a despot; a man whose heart did not sink

by misfortune, and whose head became more steady by elevation; a man who saved a country by his valor, and could receive its praises without assumption.

It was, my Brothers, the sentiment of a very profound writer, "that all human advantages confer more power of doing evil than good." To this opinion, founded on the degeneracy of our nature, common experience had given almost the authority of maxim; but the degrading principle, like almost every other, deduced from the frailty, the imbecility of man, was precisely reversed in the character of WASHINGTON. All his advantages, all his powers, extensive as they were, and in other hands, destructive as they might have been, by a kind of supernatural agency, seemed to have been directed to but one and the best of purposes, the welfare of his country and the glory of his God.

THERE was a time, when, had the ambition of a *Sylla*, been united to the power of a WASHINGTON, this fair country, which we inhabit; this favored residence of liberty and peace, might perhaps

have been prostrate at the foot of an imperious tyrant. Instead of greeting our illustrious Brother in the streets, with love and the familiarity of his equals, we might have commixed with an obsequious rabble, and followed in the rear of a conqueror in triumph ; instead of weeping at his grave in all the sincerity of grief, we might now have been engaged in a mimic solemnity, a cold unfeeling slavish ceremonial. Was there not a time, my Brothers, when he might perhaps have decimated our councils, like a *Cromwell*, garbled our parliament, and trampled with impunity, on the freedom he was commissioned and affected to protect ? When with a devoted, unsatisfied army at command, he could have spoken to us in the name of liberty, and his vacant pretensions, been received as the only pledge of our rights ?

BUT praises be to heaven, our WASHINGTON was incorruptible by the possession of glory, as he had been magnanimous in pursuit of his Nation's Independence ; his exalted soul would have disdained to command, when duty and honor enjoined him to obey ; his valor which had done

every thing for others, had nothing to perform for the aggrandizement of himself. America victorious, her freedom secured, the commanding attitude of a General, the renowned conquering General, was in an instant converted to the humble demeanor of an obedient, unambitious citizen. At the altar of liberty, when he presented the charter of Independence, he also laid down the sword, by which it had been rescued. By this last act, the vaunting predictions of his enemies were, in a moment, blasted, and the fondest hopes of his countrymen confirmed. He who had conquered the proudest nation of Europe, by a nobler achievement, had now "conquered himself," had vanquished the frailties and infirmities of nature.

FROM that period, nothing remained of the foldier, the veteran, but the fruits of his victory, and our imperishable remembrance of the valor by which they were acquired. For himself, solitude and retirement were the only recompense he could ask for his services; but even this recompense, little, as it seemed, was greater than his country had power to bestow. Again

was he wanted ; his nation called—he could not refrain to listen and obey—He who had been first in the field, was now required to be first in the councils of his country. In this elevated department ; if any thing could surpass the rectitude of his conduct, it was the facility and moderation with which he afterwards resigned the authority of his office. Power, that delusive phantasm, which bewilders little minds, had no charm for him ; but when duty required its exercise for the happiness of mankind—at a time, when the very name of WASHINGTON had in it the force of magic, when like a secret talisman, it could harmonize the discord of passions, most hostile, and reconcile the variance of principles the most opposite ; at a time when the dissonant voices of conflicting party would have melted into unison, to proclaim him again the leader of our Republic ; at that very time, when like *Augustus*, he could perhaps have managed his fame, to perpetuate his authority, did we behold the venerable *President*, as we had before seen the victorious *General*, descending with complacency to the humble occupation of an husbandman.

His labors completed, how much more than his duties performed, our illustrious hero was once more permitted to enjoy in retirement the luxury of his reflections. Retirement he might have, but in the dreariest wilds of our continent, there is not a covert, most hidden and inscrutable, that could hold a being like him, a moment in obscurity ;—Glory, like the pillar and the cloud, marked his progress by night and by day. As well might the sun conceal his disk behind the vapor of a dew drop—as well might the flaming meteor travel unnoticed through the dark welkin of night, as thou, Oh WASHINGTON ! couldst have lived in thy country, unaccompanied by its regard and astonishment. In thy own family, at the head of thy domestics, thou wert not less conspicuous than when leading to victory in the van of thy armies. In the view of Americans thou wert the same illustrious being, whether they beheld thee presiding in their councils, or an unassuming umpire in a village disputation ;—in thy hands, the meanest implement of a farmer was more graceful and imposing than the sceptre of a monarch ;

and in the loneliest vale of thy farm, thou wert as high and elevated as if perched on the summit of towering Alleghany ;—the lustre of thy character was intrinsic, unchangeable ; it could neither be increased by accident, nor diminished by the casualties of station.

BUT in his own view the duties of a patriot were still unsatisfied. All the delights of youth, the energies of manhood, the tranquility of age, which had been successively devoted to his country, he considered but as the interest of a debt which time should not limit nor even death itself annul—beyond the very confines of the grave, when sense should lose its faculty to discern, and action its power to perform, it was his wish to continue in usefulness to mankind—his contemplations, his reflections, (the very beggars privilege) were believed by WASHINGTON to be the property of his fellow-citizens—to his country he bequeathed them—were the inheritance divisible, and the whole world the inheritors, each man's portion of the gift, would be of more value than the wealth of Potosi,

or the accumulated treasures of the Indies—it is a treasure lasting as virtue, and imperishable as his soul.

A FEW years only, my Brothers, have elapsed since, in this very metropolis, our eyes, now weeping at his death, have gazed with astonishment on this wonder, this prodigy of men. Never shall I forget the solemnity, the impressive solemnity, which his presence inspired. Age forgot its decrepitude—youth forsook its amusements, and flew together to behold, in reality, a being whom fame had hitherto presented, but as a picture to the imagination. (He has often spoken of it himself as the most affecting scene of his life.) I have still in remembrance the awe, the love and veneration that crowded together on my mind. The gratitude of his countrymen was received with as much modesty, “as if he had been in the act of apology for his offences.”—He could not speak, for sensibility had choaked expression; but his countenance addressed us in a language more than human, in a language, by the tongue, unutterable; when he bowed, every heart that surrounded him, as if it had

received the last salutation of a dying man, sunk in sorrow and dejection. At a time when joy should have rent the air with its acclamations, when every eye would have beamed with rapture, and every tongue spoken in the accents of gladness, the scene was silent and solemn, and seemed fearfully to portend the fast approaching event which we now commemorate.

I HAD read of triumphal entries, of conquerors in cars, all the splendor of Roman and Grecian celebrations, and the noisy shouts of a nation of parasites, were familiar to my conceptions ; but never till then, had I a sentiment of any thing so sublime as the attitude of such virtue, in such a triumph.

BUT, my friends, the circumstances of his life, strange, surprising indeed, were not more remarkable than the scenes which have followed his death. More than five millions of people on our own continent, and if the tidings of death have flown on the rapid wing of his living fame, more than ten times five millions on other continents, are, at this moment lamenting the

same melancholy event which we now solemnize. *Americans*, though his nearest relations, have not a right to monopolize an exclusive alliance with WASHINGTON. He was a *Man*, the best friend of man, and every thing wearing the form or feature of humanity, must feel a pride in being called his kinsman. *Vernon*! high and lofty as thou art, thou second *Arrarat*, on which the Ark of American safety was lodged, every acre of our continent, as well as thy own proud hill, was rescued and protected by his arm, and has a right to contest thy boasted pre-eminence! *Virginia*, favored spot of his nativity, he was not thine, thy sisters in the *North* and the *South*, claim a portion of his glory as their inheritance! *Columbia*, he was not thine, he was a descendant of *Adam*, and every son and daughter of *Adam*, may exult that he was their friend and their brother. *Earth*, he was not thine, he was the offspring of virtue, the favorite of Heaven; to Heaven has he ascended—there is his *own*, his last, his eternal abode!!

ORATION,

ON THE SUBLIME VIRTUES OF GENERAL
GEORGE WASHINGTON, PRONOUNCED
BEFORE THE HONORABLE LEGIS-
LATURE OF MASSACHUSETTS,
CONVENED IN BOSTON,
FEBRUARY 8th, 1800.

BY FISHER AMES.

IT is natural that the gratitude of mankind should be drawn to their benefactors. A number of these have successively arisen, who were no less distinguished for the elevation of their virtues, than the lustre of their talents. Of those however who were born, and who acted through life, as if they were born, not for themselves, but for their country and the whole human race, how few, alas! are recorded in the long annals of ages, and how wide the intervals

of time and space that divide them. In all this dreary length of way, they appear like five or six light houses on as many thousand miles of coast: they gleam upon the surrounding darkness, with an inextinguishable splendor, like stars seen through a mist; but they are seen like stars, to cheer, to guide, and to save. WASHINGTON is now added to that small number. Already he attracts curiosity, like a newly discovered star, whose benignant light will travel on to the world's and time's farthest bounds. Already his name is hung up by history as conspicuously, as if it sparkled in one of the constellations of the sky.

By commemorating his death, we are called this day to yield the homage that is due to virtue; to confess the common debt of mankind as well as our own; and to pronounce for posterity, now dumb, that eulogium, which they will delight to echo ten ages hence, when we are dumb.

I CONSIDER myself not merely in the midst of the citizens of this town, or even of the State. In idea, I gather round me the nation. In the vast and venerable con-

gregation of the patriots of all countries and of all enlightened men, I would, if I could, raise my voice, and speak to mankind in a strain worthy of my audience, and as elevated as my subject. But how shall I express emotions, that are condemned to be mute, because they are unutterable? I felt, and I was witness, on the day when the news of his death reached us, to the throes of that grief, that saddened every countenance, and wrung drops of agony from the heart. Sorrow labored for utterance, but found none. Every man looked round for the consolation of other men's tears. Gracious Heaven! what consolation! Each face was convulsed with sorrow for the past; every heart shivered with despair for the future. The man, who and who alone, united all hearts, was dead; dead, at the moment when his power to do good was the greatest, and when the aspect of the imminent public dangers seemed more than ever to render his aid indispensable, and his loss irreparable: irreparable; for two WASHINGTONS come not in one age.

A GRIEF so thoughtful, so profound, so mingled with tenderness and admiration,

so interwoven with our national self-love, so often revived by being diffused, is not to be expressed. You have assigned me a task that is impossible.

O! IF I could perform it; if I could illustrate his principles in my discourse as he displayed them in his life; if I could paint his virtues as he practised them; if I could convert the fervid enthusiasm of my heart into the talent to transmit his fame, as it ought to pass to posterity; I should be the successful organ of your will, the minister of his virtues, and may I dare to say, the humble partaker of his immortal glory. These are ambitious, deceiving hopes, and I reject them. For it is perhaps almost as difficult, at once with judgment and feeling, to praise great actions, as to perform them. A lavish and undistinguishing eulogium is not praise; and to discriminate such excellent qualities as were characteristic and peculiar to him, would be to raise a name, as he raised it, above envy, above parallel, perhaps, for that very reason, above emulation.

SUCH a portraying of character, however, must be addressed to the understanding, and therefore, even if it were well executed, would seem to be rather an analysis of moral principles, than the recital of a hero's exploits. It would rather conciliate confidence and esteem, than kindle enthusiasm and admiration. It would be a picture of WASHINGTON, and, like a picture, flat as the canvas; like a statue, cold as the marble on which he is represented; cold, alas, as his corpse in the ground! Ah, how unlike the man late warm with living virtues, animated by the soul once glowing with patriotic fires! He is gone! the tomb hides all, that the world could scarce contain, and that once was WASHINGTON, except his glory; *that* is the rich inheritance of his country; and his example; *that* let us endeavor by delineating to impart to mankind. Virtue will place it in her temple, wisdom in her treasury.

PEACE then to your sorrows. I have done with them. Deep as your grief is, I aim not to be pathetic. I desire less to give utterance to the feelings of this age,

than to the judgment of the next. Let us faithfully represent the illustrious dead, as history will paint, as posterity will behold him.

WITH whatever fidelity I might execute this task, I know that some would prefer a picture drawn to the imagination. They would have our WASHINGTON represented of a giant's size, and in the character of a hero of romance. They who love to wonder better than to reason, would not be satisfied with the contemplation of a great example, unless, in the exhibition, it should be so distorted into prodigy, as to be both incredible and useless. Others, I hope but few, who think meanly of human nature, will deem it incredible, that even WASHINGTON should think with as much dignity and elevation, as he acted; and they will grovel in vain in the search for mean and selfish motives, that could incite and sustain him to devote his life to his country.

Do not these suggestions sound in your ears like a profanation of virtue? and, while I pronounce them, do you not feel a

thrill of indignation at your hearts ? Forbear. Time never fails to bring every exalted reputation to a strict scrutiny : the world, in passing the judgment that is never to be reversed, will deny all partiality, even to the name of WASHINGTON. Let it be denied : for its justice will confer glory.

SUCH a life as WASHINGTON's cannot derive honor from the circumstances of birth and education, though it throws back a lustre upon both. With an inquisitive mind, that always profited by the lights of others, and was unclouded by passions of its own, he acquired a maturity of judgment, rare in age, unparalleled in youth. Perhaps no young man had so early laid up a life's stock of materials for solid reflection, or settled so soon the principles and habits of his conduct. Grey experience listened to his counsels with respect, and at a time when youth is almost privileged to be rash, Virginia committed the safety of her frontier, and ultimately the safety of America, not merely to his valor, for that would be scarcely praise ; but to his prudence.

It is not in Indian wars that heroes are celebrated ; but it is there they are formed. No enemy can be more formidable, by the craft of his ambushes, the suddenness of his onset, or the ferocity of his vengeance. The soul of WASHINGTON was thus exercised to danger ; and on the first trial, as on every other, it appeared firm in adversity, cool in action, undaunted, self-possessed. His spirit, and still more his prudence, on the occasion of Braddock's defeat, diffused his name throughout America, and across the Atlantic. Even then his country viewed him with complacency, as her most hopeful son.

At the peace of 1763, Great-Britain, in consequence of her victories, stood in a position to prescribe her own terms. She chose, perhaps, better for us than for herself : for by expelling the French from Canada, we no longer feared hostile neighbors ; and we soon found just cause to be afraid of our protectors. We discerned even then a truth, which the conduct of France has since so strongly confirmed, that there is nothing which the gratitude of weak states can give, that will satisfy strong

allies for their aid, but authority. Nations that want protectors, will have masters. Our settlements, no longer checked by enemies on the frontier, rapidly increased; and it was discovered, that America was growing to a size that could defend itself.

IN this, perhaps unforeseen, but at length obvious state of things, the British Government conceived a jealousy of the Colonies, of which, and of their intended measures of precaution, they made no secret.

THUS it happened, that their foresight of the evil, aggravated its symptoms, and accelerated its progress. The colonists perceived that they could not be governed, as before, by affection; and resolved that they would not be governed by force. Nobly resolved! for had we submitted to the British claims of right, we should have had, if any, less than our ancient liberty; and held what might have been left by a worse tenure.

OUR nation, like its great leader, had only to take counsel from its courage.

When WASHINGTON heard the voice of his country in distress, his obedience was prompt; and though his sacrifices were great, they cost him no effort. Neither the object nor the limits of my plan, permit me to dilate on the military events of the revolutionary war. Our history is but a transcript of his claims on our gratitude. Our hearts bear testimony, that they are claims not to be satisfied. When over-matched by numbers; a fugitive, with a little band of faithful soldiers; the States as much exhausted as dismayed; he explored his own undaunted heart, and found there resources to retrieve our affairs. We have seen him display as much valor as gives fame to heroes, and as consummate prudence as ensures success to valor; fearless of dangers that were personal to him; hesitating and cautious, when they affected his country; preferring fame before safety or repose; and duty, before fame.

Rome did not owe more to Fabius, than America to WASHINGTON. Our nation shares with him the singular glory of having conducted a civil war with mildness, and a revolution, with order.

THE event of that war seemed to crown the felicity and glory both of America and its Chief. Until that contest, a great part of the civilized world had been surprisingly ignorant of the force and character, and almost of the existence, of the British Colonies. They had not retained what they knew, nor felt curiosity to know the state of thirteen wretched settlements, which vast woods inclosed, and still vaster woods divided from each other. They did not view the colonists so much a people, as a race of fugitives, whom want, and solitude, and intermixture with the savages, had made barbarians. Great-Britain, they saw, was elate with her victories : Europe stood in awe of her power : her arms made the thrones of the most powerful unsteady, and disturbed the tranquility of their States, with an agitation more extensive than an earthquake. As the giant Enceladus is fabled to lie under Etna, and to shake the mountain when he turns his limbs, her hostility was felt to the extremities of the world. It reached to both the Indies ; in the wilds of Africa, it obstructed the commerce in slaves ; the whales, finding, in

time of war, a respite from their pursuers, could venture to sport between the tropics, and did not flee, as in peace, to hide beneath the ice-fields of the polar circle.

AT this time, while Great-Britain wielded a force not inferior to that of the Roman empire under Trajan, suddenly, astonished Europe beheld a feeble people, till then unknown, stand forth, and defy this giant to the combat. It was so unequal, all expected it would be short. The events of that war were so many miracles, that attracted, as much perhaps as any war ever did, the wonder of mankind. Our final success exalted their admiration to its highest point; they allowed to WASHINGTON all that is due to transcendent virtue, and to the Americans more than is due to human nature. They considered us a race of WASHINGTONS, and admitted that nature in America was fruitful only in prodigies. Their books and their travellers, exaggerating and distorting all their representations, assisted to establish the opinion, that this is a new world, with a new order of men and things adapted to it; that here we practise industry, amidst the

abundance that requires none ; that we have morals so refined, that we do not need laws ; and though we have them, yet we ought to consider their execution as an insult and a wrong ; that we have virtue without weaknesses, sentiment without passions, and liberty without factions. These illusions, in spite of their absurdity, and, perhaps, because they are absurd enough to have dominion over the imagination only, have been received by many of the malecontents against the governments of Europe, and induced them to emigrate. Such illusions are too soothing to vanity, to be entirely checked in their currency among Americans.

THEY have been pernicious, as they cherish false ideas of the rights of men and the duties of rulers. They have led the citizens to look for liberty, where it is not ; and to consider the government, which is its castle, as its prison.

WASHINGTON retired to Mount Vernon, and the eyes of the world followed him. He left his countrymen to their

simplicity and their passions, and their glory soon departed. Europe began to be undeceived, and it seemed for a time, as if, by the acquisition of Independence, our citizens were disappointed. The Confederation was then the only compact made "to form a perfect union of the States, to establish justice, to ensure the tranquillity, and provide for the security, of the nation;" and accordingly, union was a name that still commanded reverence, though not obedience. The system called justice, was, in some of the States, iniquity reduced to elementary principles; and the public tranquillity was such a portentous calm, as rings in deep caverns before the explosion of an earthquake. Most of the States then were in fact, though not in form, unbalanced democracies. Reason, it is true, spoke audibly in their constitutions; passion and prejudice louder in their laws. It is to the honor of Massachusetts, that it is chargeable with little deviation from principles. Its adherence to them was one of the causes of a dangerous rebellion. It was scarcely possible that such governments should not be agitated by parties, and that pre-

vailing parties should not be vindictive and unjust. Accordingly, in some of the States, creditors were treated as outlaws; bankrupts were armed with legal authority to be persecutors; and, by the shock of all confidence and faith, society was shaken to its foundations. Liberty we had; but we dreaded its abuse almost as much as its loss; and the wife, who deplored the one, clearly foresaw the other.

THE States were also becoming formidable to each other. Tribute, under the name of impost, was for years levied by some of the commercial States upon their neighbors. Measures of retaliation were resorted to, and mutual recriminations had begun to whet the resentments, whose never failing progress among States is more injustice, vengeance, and war.

THE peace of America hung by a thread, and factions were already sharpening their weapons to cut it. The project of three separate empires in America was beginning to be broached, and the progress of licentiousness would have soon rendered her citizens unfit for liberty in either of

them. An age of blood and misery would have punished our disunion: But these were not the considerations to deter ambition from its purpose, while there were so many circumstances in our political situation to favor it.

AT this awful crisis, which all the wise so much dreaded at the time, yet which appears, on a retrospect, so much more dreadful than their fears; some man was wanting, who possessed a commanding power over the popular passions, but over whom those passions had no power.—That man was WASHINGTON.

His name, at the head of such a list of worthies as would reflect honor on any country, had its proper weight with all the enlightened, and with almost all the well-disposed among the less informed citizens, and, blessed be God! the Constitution was adopted. Yes, to the eternal honor of America among the nations of the earth, it was adopted, in spite of the obstacles which, in any other country, and perhaps in any other age of *this*, would have been insurmountable; in spite of the doubts and

fears, which well meaning prejudice creates for itself, and which party so artfully inflames into stubbornness; in spite of the vice, which it has subjected to restraint, and which is therefore its immortal and implacable foe; in spite of the oligarchies in some of the States, from whom it snatched dominion; it was adopted, and our country enjoys one more invaluable chance for its union and happiness: Invaluable! if the retrospect of the dangers we have escaped, shall sufficiently inculcate the principles we have so tardily established. Perhaps multitudes are not to be taught by their fears only, without suffering much to deepen the impression: For experience brandishes in her school a whip of scorpions, and teaches nations her summary lessons of wisdom by the scars and wounds of their adversity.

THE amendments which have been projected in some of the States show, that in them at least, these lessons are not well remembered. In a confederacy of States, some powerful, others weak, the weakness of the federal union will, sooner or later, encourage, and will not restrain, the ambi-

tion and injustice of the members. The weak can no otherwise be strong or safe, but in the energy of the national government. It is this defect, which the blind jealousy of the weak States not unfrequently contributes to prolong, that has proved fatal to all the confederations that ever existed.

ALTHOUGH it was impossible that such merit as WASHINGTON's should not produce envy, it was scarcely possible that, with such a transcendent reputation, he should have rivals. Accordingly, he was unanimously chosen President of the United States.

As a General and a Patriot, the measure of his glory was already full : There was no fame left for him to excel but his own ; and even that task, the mightiest of all his labors, his civil magistracy has accomplished.

No sooner did the new government begin its auspicious course, than order seemed to arise out of confusion. The governments of Europe had seen the old Confed-

eration sinking, squalid and pale, into the tomb, when they beheld the new American Republic rise suddenly from the ground ; and, throwing off its grave cloaths, exhibiting the stature and proportions of a young giant, refreshed with sleep. Commerce and industry awoke, and were cheerful at their labors ; for credit and confidence awoke with them. Every where was the appearance of prosperity ; and the only fear was, that its progress was too rapid, to consist with the purity and simplicity of ancient manners. The cares and labors of the President were incessant : His exhortations, example, and authority, were employed to excite zeal and activity for the public service : Able officers were selected, only for their merits ; and some of them remarkably distinguished themselves by their successful management of the public business. Government was administered with such integrity, without mystery, and in so prosperous a course, that it seemed to be wholly employed in acts of beneficence. Though it has made many thousand malecontents, it has never, by its rigor or injustice, made one man wretched.

SUCH was the state of public affairs : and did it not seem perfectly to ensure uninterrupted harmony to the citizens ? did they not, in respect to their government and its administration, possess their whole heart's desire ? They had seen and suffered long the want of an efficient Constitution : they had freely ratified it : They saw WASHINGTON, their tried friend, the father of his country, invested with its powers. They knew that he could not exceed or betray them, without forfeiting his own reputation. Consider, for a moment, what a reputation it was : Such as no man ever before possessed by so clear a title, and in so high a degree. His fame seemed in its purity to exceed even its brightness : office took honor from his acceptance, but conferred none. Ambition stood awed and darkened by his shadow. For where, thro' the wide earth, was the man so vain as to dispute precedence with him ; or what were the honors that could make the possessor WASHINGTON's superior ? Refined and complex as the ideas of virtue are, even the gross could discern in his life the infinite superiority of her rewards.

Mankind perceived some change in their ideas of greatness : the splendor of power, and even of the name of conqueror, had grown dim in their eyes. They did not know that WASHINGTON could augment his fame ; but they knew and felt, that the world's wealth, and its empire too, would be a bribe far beneath his acceptance.

THIS is not exaggeration : never was confidence in a man and a chief magistrate more widely diffused, or more solidly established.

IF it had been in the nature of man that we should enjoy liberty, without the agitations of party, the United States had a right, under these circumstances, to expect it : but it was impossible. Where there is no liberty, they may be exempt from party. It will seem strange, but it scarcely admits a doubt, that there are fewer malecontents in Turkey, than in any free state in the world. Where the people have no power, they enter into no contests, and are not anxious to know how they

shall use it. The spirit of discontent becomes torpid for want of employment, and sighs itself to rest. The people sleep soundly in their chains, and do not even dream of their weight. They lose their turbulence with their energy, and become as tractable as any other animals ; a state of degradation, in which they extort our scorn, and engage our pity, for the misery they do not feel. Yet that heart is a base one, and fit only for a slave's bosom, that would not bleed freely, rather than submit to such a condition ; for liberty with all its parties and agitations is more desirable than slavery. Who would not prefer the republics of ancient Greece, where liberty once subsisted in its excess, its delirium, terrible in its charms, and glistening to the last with the blaze of the very fire that consumed it ?

I do not know that I ought, but I am sure that I do, prefer those republics to the dozing slavery of the modern Greece, where the degraded wretches have suffered scorn till they merit it, where they tread on classic ground, on the ashes of heroes and patriots, unconscious of their ancestry,

ignorant of the nature, and almost of the name of liberty, and insensible even to the passion for it. Who, on this contrast, can forbear to say, it is the modern Greece that lies buried, that sleeps forgotten in the caves of Turkish darkness? It is the ancient Greece that lives in remembrance, that is still bright with glory, still fresh in immortal youth. They are unworthy of liberty, who entertain a less exalted idea of its excellence. The misfortune is, that those who profess to be its most passionate admirers have, generally, the least comprehension of its hazards and impediments: they expect that an enthusiastic admiration of its nature will reconcile the multitude to the irksomeness of its restraints. Delusive expectation! WASHINGTON was not thus deluded. We have his solemn warning against the often fatal propensities of liberty. He had reflected, that men are often false to their country and their honor, false to duty and even to their interest; but multitudes of men are never long false or deaf to their passions; these will find obstacles in the laws, associates in party. The fellowships thus formed are more inti-

mate, and impose commands more imperious, than those of society.

THUS party forms a state within the state, and is animated by a rivalry, fear, and hatred, of its superior. When this happens, the merits of the government will become fresh provocations and offences; for they are the merits of an enemy. No wonder then, that as soon as party found the virtue and glory of WASHINGTON were obstacles, the attempt was made, by calumny, to surmount them both. For this, the greatest of all his trials, we know that he was prepared. He knew that the government must possess sufficient strength from within or without, or fall a victim to faction. This *interior* strength was plainly inadequate to its defence, unless it could be reinforced from *without* by the zeal and patriotism of the citizens; and this latter resource was certainly as accessible to President WASHINGTON, as to any chief magistrate that ever lived. The life of the federal government, he considered, was in the breath of the people's nostrils: whenever they should hap-

pen to be so infatuated or inflamed as to abandon its defence, its end must be as speedy, and might be as tragical, as a constitution for France.

WHILE the President was thus administering the government, in so wise and just a manner, as to engage the great majority of the enlightened and virtuous citizens to co-operate with him for its support, and while he indulged the hope that time and habit were confirming their attachment, the French revolution had reached that point in its progress, when its terrible principles began to agitate all civilized nations. I will not, on this occasion, detain you to express, though my thoughts teem with it, my deep abhorrence of that revolution; its despotism, by the mob or the military, from the first, and its hypocrisy of morals to the last. Scenes have passed there which exceed description, and which, for other reasons, I will not attempt to describe; for it would not be possible, even at this distance of time, and with the sea between us and France, to go through with the recital of them, without perceiving

horror gather, like a frost, about the heart, and almost stop its pulse. That revolution has been constant in nothing but its vicissitudes, and its promises; always delusive but always renewed, to establish philosophy by crimes, and liberty by the sword. The people of France, if they are not like the modern Greeks, find their cap of liberty is a foldier's helmet; and, with all their imitation of dictators and consuls, their exactest similitude to these Roman ornaments, is in their chains. The nations of Europe perceive another resemblance, in their all conquering ambition.

BUT it is only the influence of that event on America, and on the measures of the President, that belongs to my subject. It would be ingratelully wrong to his character to be silent in respect to a part of it, which has the most signally illustrated his virtues.

THE genuine character of that Revolution is not even yet so well understood as the dictates of self-preservation require it should be. The chief duty and care of all Governments is to protect the rights of

property, and the tranquillity of society. The leaders of the French Revolution, from the beginning, excited the poor against the rich : This has made the rich poor, but it will never make the poor rich. On the contrary, they were used only as blind instruments to make those leaders masters, first of the adverse party, and then of the State. Thus the powers of the State were turned round into a direction exactly contrary to the proper one, not to preserve tranquillity and restrain violence, but to excite violence by the lure of power, and plunder, and vengeance. Thus all France has been, and still is, as much the prize of the ruling party as a captured ship ; and if any right or possession has escaped confiscation, there is none that has not been liable to it.

Thus it clearly appears that, in its origin, its character, and its means, the government of that country is revolutionary ; that is, not only different from, but directly contrary to, every regular and well ordered society. It is a danger, similar in its kind, and at least equal in degree, to that, with which ancient Rome menaced

her enemies. The allies of Rome were slaves; and it cost some hundred years efforts of her policy and arms, to make her enemies her allies. Nations, at this day, can trust no better to treaties; they cannot even trust to arms, unless they are used with a spirit and perseverance becoming the magnitude of their danger. For the French revolution has been, from the first, hostile to all right and justice, to all peace and order in society; and, therefore, its very existence has been a state of warfare against the civilized world, and most of all against free and orderly Republics. For such are never without factions, ready to be the allies of France, and to aid her in the work of destruction. Accordingly, scarcely any but Republics have they subverted. Such governments, by showing in practice what Republican Liberty *is*, detect French imposture, and show what their pretexts are *not*.

To subvert them, therefore, they had, besides the facility that faction affords, the double excitement of removing a reproach, and converting their greatest obstacles into their most efficient auxiliaries.

Who then, on careful reflection, will be surpris'd, that the French and their partizans instantly conceived the desire, and made the most powerful attempts to revolutionize the American Government? But it will hereafter seem strange that their excesses should be excus'd, as the effects of a struggle for liberty, and that so many of our citizens should be flattered, while they were insulted, with the idea, that our example was copied, and our principles pursued. Nothing was ever more false, or more fascinating. Our liberty depends on our education, our laws, and habits, to which even prejudices yield; on the dispersion of our people on farms, and on the almost equal diffusion of property; it is founded on morals and religion, whose authority reigns in the heart, and on the influence all these produce on public opinion before *that* opinion governs rulers. *Here* liberty is restraint, *there* it is violence; *here* it is mild and cheering, like the morning sun of our summer, brightening the hills, and making the vallies green; *there* it is like the sun, when his rays dart pestilence on the sands of Africa. American liberty calms and restrains the licentious passions,

like an angel that says to the winds and troubled seas, be still. But how has French licentiousness appeared to the wretched citizens of Switzerland and Venice? Do not their haunted imaginations, even when they wake, represent her as a monster, with eyes that flash wild fire, hands that hurl thunderbolts, a voice that shakes the foundation of the hills? She stands, and her ambition measures the earth; she speaks, and an epidemic fury seizes the Nations.

EXPERIENCE is lost upon us, if we deny, that it had seized a large part of the American Nation. It is as sober, and intelligent, as free, and as worthy to be free, as any in the world; yet, like all other people, we have passions and prejudices, and they had received a violent impulse, which, for a time, misled us.

JACOBINISM had become here, as in France, rather a sect than a party; inspiring a fanaticism that was equally intolerant and contagious. The delusion was general enough to be thought the voice of the people, therefore claiming authority with.

out proof ; and jealous enough to exact acquiescence without a murmur of contradiction. Some progress was made in training multitudes to be vindictive and ferocious. To them nothing seemed amiable, but the revolutionary justice of Paris ; nothing terrible, but the government and justice of America. The very name of *Patriots* was claimed and applied in proportion as the citizens had alienated their hearts from America, and transferred their affections to their foreign corrupter. Party discerned its intimate connexion of interest with France, and consummated its profligacy by yielding to foreign influence.

THE views of these allies required that this country should engage in war with Great-Britain. Nothing less would give to France all the means of annoying this dreaded rival : Nothing less would ensure the subjection of America, as a satellite to the ambition of France : Nothing else could make a Revolution here perfectly inevitable.

FOR this end, the minds of the citizens were artfully inflamed, and the mo-

ment was watched, and impatiently waited for, when their long heated passions should be in fusion, to pour them forth, like the lava of a volcano, to blacken and consume the peace and government of our country.

THE systematic operations of a faction under foreign influence had begun to appear, and were successively pursued, in a manner too deeply alarming to be soon forgotten. Who of us does not remember this worst of evils in this worst of ways? Shame would forget, if it could, that, in one of the States, amendments were proposed to break down the Federal Senate, which, as in the State Governments, is a great bulwark of the public order. To break down another, an extravagant judiciary power was claimed for States. In another State a rebellion was fomented by the agent of France: And who, without fresh indignation, can remember, that the powers of Government were openly usurped; troops levied, and ships fitted out to fight for her? Nor can any true friend to our Government consider without dread, that, soon afterwards, the treaty making

power was boldly challenged for a branch of the Government, from which the Constitution has wisely withholden it.

I AM oppressed, and know not how to proceed with my subject—WASHINGTON, blessed be GOD! who endued him with wisdom and clothed him with power—WASHINGTON issued his Proclamation of Neutrality, and, at an early period, arrested the intrigues of France and the passions of his countrymen, on the very edge of the precipice of war and revolution.

THIS act of firmness, at the hazard of his reputation and peace, entitles him to the name of the first of Patriots. Time was gained for the Citizens to recover their virtue and good sense, and they soon recovered them. The crisis was passed, and America was saved.

You and I, most respected fellow-citizens, should be sooner tired than satisfied in recounting the particulars of this illustrious man's life.

How great he appeared, while he administered the Government, how much

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greater when he retired from it, how he accepted the Chief military command under his wife and upright successor, how his life was unspotted like his fame, and how his death was worthy of his life, are so many distinct subjects of instruction, and each of them singly more than enough for an eulogium. I leave the task, however, to history and to posterity; they will be faithful to it.

It is not impossible, that some will affect to consider the honors paid to this great Patriot, by the Nation, as excessive, idolatrous, and degrading to free-men, who are all equal. I answer, that refusing to virtue its legitimate honors would not prevent their being lavished, in future, on any worthless and ambitious favorite. If this day's example should have its natural effect, it will be salutary. Let such honors be so conferred only when, in future, they shall be so merited: Then the public sentiment will not be misled, nor the principles of a just equality corrupted. The best evidence of reputation is a man's whole life. We have now, alas! all WASHINGTON's before us. There has scarcely appeared a really great man, whose character has been

more admired in his life time, or less correctly understood by his admirers. When it is comprehended, it is no easy task to delineate its excellencies in such a manner, as to give to the portrait, both interest and resemblance. For it requires thought and study to understand the true ground of the superiority of his character over many others, whom he resembled in the principles of action, and even in the manner of acting. But perhaps he excels all the great men that ever lived, in the steadiness of his adherence to his maxims of life, and in the uniformity of all his conduct to the same maxims. These maxims, though wise, were yet not so remarkable for their wisdom, as for their authority over his life: For if there were any errors in his judgment, (and he discovered as few as any man) we know of no blemishes in his virtue. He was the Patriot without reproach: He loved his country well enough to hold his success in serving it an ample recompense. Thus far self-love and love of country coincided: But when his country needed sacrifices, that no other man could, or perhaps would be willing to make, he did

not even hesitate. This was virtue in its most exalted character. More than once he put his fame at hazard, when he had reason to think it would be sacrificed, at least in this age. Two instances cannot be denied: When the army was disbanded; and again, when he stood, like *Leonidas* at the pass of Thermopylæ, to defend our Independence against France.

It is indeed almost as difficult to draw his character, as the portrait of Virtue. The reasons are similar. Our ideas of moral excellence are obscure, because they are complex, and we are obliged to resort to illustrations. WASHINGTON's example is the happiest to show what virtue is; and to delineate his character, we naturally expatiate on the beauty of virtue: Much must be felt, and much imagined. His pre-eminence is not so much to be seen in the display of any one virtue, as in the possession of them all, and in the practice of the most difficult. Hereafter therefore his character must be studied before it will be striking; and then it will be admitted as a model; a precious one to a free Republic!

It is no less difficult to speak of his talents. They were adapted to lead, without dazzling mankind ; and to draw forth and employ the talents of others, without being misled by them. In this he was certainly superior, that he neither mistook nor misapplied his own. His great modesty and reserve would have concealed them, if great occasions had not called them forth ; and then, as he never spoke from the affectation to shine, nor acted from any sinister motives, it is from their effects only that we are to judge of their greatness and extent. In public trusts, where men, acting conspicuously, are cautious, and in those private concerns, where few conceal or resist their weaknesses, WASHINGTON was uniformly great ; pursuing right conduct from right maxims. His talents were such, as assist a sound judgment, and ripen with it. His prudence was consummate, and seemed to take the direction of his powers and passions ; for, as a Soldier, he was more solicitous to avoid mistakes that might be fatal, than to perform exploits that are brilliant ; and as a Statesman, to adhere to just principles, however

old, than to pursue novelties ; and therefore, in both characters, his qualities were singularly adapted to the interest, and were tried in the greatest perils, of the country. His habits of inquiry were so far remarkable, that he was never satisfied with investigating, nor desisted from it, so long as he had less than all the light that he could obtain upon a subject ; and then he made his decision without bias.

THIS command over the partialities that so generally stop men short, or turn them aside, in their pursuit of truth, is one of the chief causes of his unvaried course of right conduct in so many difficult scenes, where every human actor must be presumed to err.

IF he had strong passions, he had learned to subdue them, and to be moderate and mild. If he had weaknesses he concealed them, which is rare, and excluded them from the government of his temper and conduct, which is still more rare. If he loved fame, he never made improper compliances, for what is called popularity. The fame he enjoyed, is of the kind that will

last forever ; yet it was rather the effect, than the motive, of his conduct. Some future *Plutarch* will search for a parallel to his character. *Epaminondas* is perhaps the brightest name of all antiquity. Our WASHINGTON resembled him in the purity and ardor of his patriotism ; and like him, he first exalted the glory of his country. There, it is to be hoped, the parallel ends : For *Thebes* fell with *Epaminondas*. But such comparisons cannot be pursued far, without departing from the similitude. For we shall find it as difficult to compare great men as great rivers. Some we admire for the length and rapidity of their current, and the grandeur of their cataracts : Others, for the majestic silence and fullness of their streams : We cannot bring them together to measure the difference of their waters. The unambitious life of WASHINGTON, declining fame, yet courted by it, seemed, like the Ohio, to choose its long way through solitudes, diffusing fertility ; or like his own Potomac, widening and deepening his channel, as he approaches the sea, and displaying most the usefulness and serenity of his

greatness towards the end of his course. Such a citizen would do honor to any country. The constant veneration and affection of his country will show, that it was worthy of such a citizen.

HOWEVER his military fame may excite the wonder of mankind, it is chiefly by his civil magistracy, that his example will instruct them. Great Generals have arisen in all ages of the world, and perhaps most in those of despotism and darkness. In times of violence and convulsion, they rise, by the force of the whirlwind, high enough to ride in it, and direct the storm. Like meteors, they glare on the black clouds with a splendor, that, while it dazzles and terrifies, makes nothing visible but the darkness. The fame of heroes is indeed growing vulgar: They multiply in every long war: They stand in history, and thicken in their ranks, almost as undistinguished as their own soldiers.

BUT such a Chief-Magistrate as WASHINGTON, appears like the pole star in a clear sky, to direct the skilful statesman. His Presidency will form an

epoch, and be distinguished as the age of WASHINGTON. Already it assumes its high place in the political region. Like the milky way, it whitens along its allotted portion of the hemisphere. The latest generations of men will survey, through the telescope of history, the space where so many virtues blend their rays, and delight to separate them into groups and distinct virtues. As the best illustration of them, the living monument, to which the first of Patriots would have chosen to consign his fame, it is my earnest prayer to heaven, that our country may subsist, even to that late day, in the plenitude of its liberty and happiness, and mingle its mild glory with WASHINGTON's.

EXTRACT FROM A SERMON, ON THE
DEATH OF GENERAL *WASHINGTON*,
PREACHED AT BURLING-
TON, NEW-JERSEY.

BY REV. DR. *WHARTON*.

I Maccabees, c. ix. v. 18, 20, 21, 22.

Judas also was killed. And all Israel made great lamentation for him, and mourned many days, saying—How is the valiant man fallen that delivered Israel. As for the other things concerning Judas and his wars, and the noble acts which he did, and his greatness, they are not written, for they were very many.

WITH how much propriety these words refer to the illustrious Man, whose loss we now deplore, you my hearers, must feel more powerfully than I can express.—The achievements of the Jewish hero bear a strong resemblance to those of our late glorious fellow-citizen; and they,

who read the books of the Maccabees, will readily perceive that *Judas Maccabees* was the WASHINGTON of his day. His exploits indeed, and his virtues were too numerous to be written, as the labor of recording in those days, was attended with many difficulties, which the art of printing has happily done away; whereas the transcendant accomplishments and unparalleled transactions of our great deliverer, stand recorded upon the pages of multiplied history, and are become even already the objects of admiration and applause among all civilized nations.— Well, therefore, may I be excused from entering on a detail so familiar to every son and daughter of America; so familiar to the universe; well may I be excused from attempting to throw any additional lustre upon the brilliancy of that character, which for so many years has swelled the sweetest notes of the trumpet of fame, and, borne upon the wings of unadulterated glory, has exhibited to mankind the first great spectacle of the most exalted heroism accompanied with dove-like modesty; of the most indefatigable patriotism untainted with selfishness—of the soft irradiations of genuine magnanimity and greatness, eclipsing the

obtrusive glare of pride, and effectually oppressing the swell of arrogance and presumption. At the grand and soothing idea, that this greatest instance of human perfectibility, this conspicuous phænomenon of human elevation and grandeur, should have been permitted to rise first on the horizon of America, every citizen of these states must feel his bosom beat with rapturous and honest pride, tempered with reverential gratitude to the great author and source of all perfection.—He will be penetrated with astonishment, and kindled into thanksgiving, when he reflects that our globe had existed 6000 years before a WASHINGTON appeared on the theatre of the world; and that he was then destined to appear in America—to be the ornament, the deliverer, the protector, the delight!!!—But alas! he is now no longer among us; He is gone, to his death bed, inclosed in the silent tomb; and all that is now left us, is “like all Israel, to make great lamentation for him, and to mourn many days, saying, how is the valiant man fallen that delivered Israel.” My brethren, had the character of WASHINGTON rested solely on the basis of military achievements, and politi-

cal sagacity ; had the vast fabric of his immortal reputation been supported merely by the hollow columns of universal applause, and perfumed with no other sweets than the incense of adulation, proffered by the wayward multitude to merit, often as false as it is glaring ; had the virtues of the man been stained by the vices of the hero, or the Christian disappeared amidst the pretensions of the philosopher, with whatever delight you might have listened to his panegyrist in other places, you would have heard no tribute paid to his memory in this. The temple of God is not designed to display the importance and fascination of human glory and pre-eminence, but rather to exhibit the transient glory and emptiness of both. And yet, O holy and divine religion ! who presidest within these walls, I trust it will be deemed no violation of thy sanctuary to have just hinted at the genuine glory and unparalleled pre-eminence of character which adorned the great deliverer and beloved Father of our country. His respect for thee, was uninterrupted and sincere. In private and in public, his conduct and conversation were marked

with an awful reverence for thy truths and ordinances ; nothing profane ever dropt from his lips ; nothing irreligious ever appeared in his behavior ; to Providence he ascribed all his success and his glory ; he deposited all his laurels at the foot of the altar, and the affectionate addresses of his fellow-citizens, joined with the applauses of distant nations, instead of swelling his great soul with the fumes of vain glory, seemed only to depress every sense of self-sufficiency, and rivet more firmly his confidence in the Almighty. In his last pathetic address to his country, he bears open and ample testimony to the sanctions of Revelation ; and assures us all, that without religion, neither the wisdom of laws, nor the precepts of morality will be able to preserve a state from destruction. Let this sentiment, my hearers, rest permanently upon our minds. It is the important legacy of our beloved WASHINGTON, calculated to promote our worldly and eternal happiness ; and I trust that he now enjoys the blessed effects of its adoption. And now let us, from the death of this good and wonderful man, endeavor to learn wisdom.

A VIEW of his life must fill every citizen with astonishment, veneration and love—while his death conveys the most affecting lessons to a Christian. Let us presume to follow his disembodied soul into the depths of eternity. There he now is alone with his God. What a sudden revolution takes place in all his sentiments and ideas! What avails him now, that he lived a solitary example of uninterrupted admiration and worldly prosperity; that he reigned in the affections of every virtuous heart; that his memory is honored by the tears of his own and distant nations; the painter, the sculptor, the historian and the poet, shall vie with each other in conveying to future ages the benign traits of his countenance, the majestic symmetry of his person, the fair features of his expanded mind, and the fair fame of his achievements; what avails him now, that the most enlightened strangers from the European world, crossed the vast Atlantic, to behold the Joshua and the Solomon of America; that mighty vessels, and towns, and cities, and provinces, bear his name! a name that seems to combine whatever is good, and

great, and amiable among men! Alas! neither this mighty name, nor all the events that now agitate the earth, are any thing to him. The vast extent of eternity now displayed before his eyes; his everlasting destiny in a new state of existence; the realities of the eternal world opened upon his view, fix all the attention and absorb all the faculties of his immortal spirit—thrice happy, I trust, to have learned from the blessed religion, which he professed and respected, that all the successes and disgraces of this transitory state, when not referred to GOD, are little else than empty dreams; that there is no real happiness or misery but in eternity. These are lessons which our divine religion had delivered to the venerable and beloved father of our country: It was his happiness to believe them: The veil is now rent asunder; and I doubt not but this great benefactor of mankind, is actually perceiving, feeling, and approving them, in the bosom of the Eternal. And we my hearers, shall very soon perceive these truths and approve them also. A few days perhaps, but certainly a few years, will put a period

to our mortal existence. But were our lives to be protracted even through a series of ages, yet still the longest life would be only a moment, when measured upon the scale of eternity ; the duration of the loftiest cedar upon Libanus, is not less contracted and precarious, than that of the humble shrub that grows in its shade. The whole of man seems to be, "*to be born and to die.*" The space that intervenes between these terms of his mortality is so very short, that it appears to be just nothing. Genius, opulence, fame, authority and reputation ; all the gifts and treasures of nature and of fortune, are evidently contained in a small vessel of clay ; which no sooner falls, than it is broken in pieces, and its scattered fragments, lie useless on the ground. My hearers, let us accustom ourselves to think, as we shall think in eternity ; to judge as we shall then judge. Happy, thrice happy, the venerable sage and patriot, whose death we now lament, that in life he regarded God as the sovereign master ; religion as the sovereign law ; the happiness of eternity as the supreme object, that should interest his affections. To us, O LORD, it belongs:

not to penetrate into the depths of thy judgments ; and well we know that human virtues, the most resplendent and sublime, can entitle no man to the benefit of salvation. From thy pure mercy only can this grace be derived. *This* we trust has been extended to our beloved Father, and Protector. Though a conquering warrior, he delighted in peace ; and therefore we consider he is now *called a child of God* :— With justice and humanity he judged his Israel ; and therefore we humbly hope that he also has been judged according to the abundance of thy mercy. And if any remains of human frailty were still hanging about him, when ushered into thy presence, O ! may the cleansing blood of the Lamb have washed every stain ; may the gates of Sion have opened to receive him, and introduce this defender and benefactor of nations, into the everlasting repose of the elect of God.—Amen.

FUNERAL ORATION,

ON GENERAL *WASHINGTON*, DELIVERED
AT PARIS, IN THE TEMPLE
OF MARS, 20th PLUVIOSE,
8th FEBRUARY, 1800.

BY *LOUIS FONTANES*.

FRANCE, unbiaſſed by thoſe narrow prejudices which exiſt between nations, and admiring virtue wherever it be found, decrees this tribute of reſpect to the manes of *WASHINGTON*. At this moment ſhe contributes to the diſcharge of a debt due by two nations. No government, whatever form it bears, or whatever opinions it holds, can reſuſe its reſpect to this great father of liberty. The people who ſo lately ſtigmatized *WASHINGTON* as a rebel, regard even the enfranchiſment of America, as one of thoſe events conſecrated by hiſtory and by paſt ages. Such is

the veneration excited by great characters. The American revolution, the cotemporary of our own, is fixed forever. WASHINGTON began it with energy, and finished it with moderation. He knew how to maintain it, pursuing always the prosperity of his country ; and his aim alone will justify at the tribunal of the Most High, enterprises so extraordinary.

“To pronounce the eulogy of the hero of America, requires the sublimest eloquence of the first orators. I reflect, with sentiments of admiration, that this temple, ornamented with the trophies of valor, was raised up in an age of genius, an age which produced as many great writers as illustrious commanders. Then the memory of heroes was entrusted to orators whose genius gave immortality. Now, military glory shines with lustre [*eclat*]*—*and in every country the glory of the fine arts is shrouded in darkness. My voice is too feeble to be heard on an occasion so solemn and momentous, and so new to me. But as that voice is pure ; as it has never flattered any species of tyranny ; it has never been rendered unworthy of celebrating heroism and virtue.

NEVERTHELESS, these funeral and military honors will speak to all hearts; it needs not the aid of speech, to raise strong and indescribable emotions. The mourning which the first consul orders for WASHINGTON, declares to France that WASHINGTON's example is not lost. It is left for the illustrious general, than for the benefactor and friend of a great people, that the crape of mourning now covers our banners and the uniform of our warriors. Neither do we prepare that unmeaning pomp, so contrary to policy and humanity, in which insult is offered to humanity, contempt to venerable ruins, and calumny to the tomb. Every exalted idea, every useful truth is seen in this assembly. I speak before warriors, the honorable praise of a warrior, firm in adversity, modest in victory and magnanimous in every stage of fortune. — Before the ministers of the French republic, I speak the praises of a man whom ambition never swayed, and whose every care tended to the welfare of his country; a man who, unlike others that have changed empires, lived in peace in his native land; and in that land which he had freed, and in which he had held the highest rank, died as a simple individual.

“GENERAL WASHINGTON offers examples not less worthy of imitation. Amidst all the disorder of camps; amidst all the excesses inseparable from a civil war, humanity took refuge in his tent, and was never repulsed. In triumph and in defeat, he was always as tranquil as wisdom, as simple as virtue. The finer feelings of the heart never abandoned him, even in those moments when his own interest would seem to justify a recurrence to the laws of vengeance. This I call thee to attest, O youthful Apgill! thou whose misfortunes have interested England, France and America! With what assiduous care did WASHINGTON endeavor to delay a sentence which the laws of war would have precipitated! He expected that a voice, then all powerful, would have been heard across the expansive ocean, and demanded a pardon which could not be refused. That voice, so conformable to the feelings of the heart, was heard and felt; and the day which saved an innocent victim ought to be inscribed among the glories of victorious and Independent America. * * * * *

“It is these extraordinary men, who appear at intervals on this vast scene, with

characters commanding and illustrious. An unknown and superior cause sends them when it is fit, to lay the foundations of new, or to build up the ruins of old empires. It is in vain that these men step aside, or mingle in the crowd : Destiny leads them on ; they are carried from obstacle, to obstacle, from triumph to triumph, until they arrive at the summit of power. Something supernatural animates all their thoughts : An irresistible movement is given to all their enterprises. The multitude still seek them among themselves, and find them not ; they raise their eyes, and see in a sphere, dazzling with light and glory, those whom their ignorance and envy would call rash. WASHINGTON had not those high and commanding traits which strike every mind : He displayed more order and justice, than force and elevation in his ideas. He possessed above all, in an eminent degree, that quality which some call vulgar, but which very few possess ; that quality not less useful to the government of states than to the conduct of life, and which gives more tranquillity than emotion to the soul, and more happiness than glory to those who possess it : It is of good sense that I speak.—

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Opinions subject to the caprices of the world and to time ; opinions, weak and changeable, the inheritance of humanity, vanish in the tomb ; but glory and virtue live forever. When departed from this stage, the great men of every age and of every place, become in some measure, compatriots and contemporaries. They form but one family in the memory of the living ; and their examples are renewed in every successive age. Thus, within these walls the valor of *WASHINGTON* attracts the regard of *Conde* ; his modesty is applauded by *Turenne* ; his philosophy draws him to the bosom of *Catinat*. A people who admit the ancient dogma of a transmigration of souls, will often confess that the soul of *Catinat* dwells in the bosom of *WASHINGTON*.

“ THE voice of republicanism, which resounds from every part of these walls, ought to please above all, the defenders of America. Can they not love these soldiers who, after their example, repelled the enemies of their country ? We approach with pleasure those veterans, whose trophies add lustre to these walls, and some of whom

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have gained laurels with WASHINGTON, in the wilds of Carolina and Virginia.”—

“BUT there is something more due to the memory of WASHINGTON; it is the union of France and America: It is the happiness of each; it is peace between the two nations. It now seems to me, that WASHINGTON calls to all France from the very summit of his dome—“*Magnanimous People!*” you who know so well how to honor glory; I have conquered for Independence; the happiness of my country was the reward of that victory. Imitate not the first half of my life; it is the second that recommends me to posterity.

“YES, thy counsels shall be heard, O WASHINGTON! O warrior! O Legislator! O citizen without reproach! He who *while yet young*, rivals thee in battles, shall, like thee, with his triumphant hands, heal the wounds of his country.—Even now we have his disposition, his character, for the pledge; and his warlike genius, unfortunately necessary, shall soon lead sweet peace into this temple of war: Then the sentiment of universal joy shall obliterate

rate the remembrance of oppression and injustice. Already, the oppressed forget their ills, in looking to the future. The acclamations of every age will be offered to the hero who gives happiness to France, and seeks to restore it to a contending world."

Character of Washington,

TAKEN FROM "THE COURIER"

A LONDON PAPER—OF THE

24th JANUARY, 1800.

GENERAL WASHINGTON was, we believe, in his 68th year. The height of his person was about 5 feet, eleven; his chest full; and his limbs, though rather slender, well shaped and muscular. His head was small, in which respect he resembled the make of a great number of his countrymen. His eyes were of a light grey colour; and, in proportion to the length of his face, his nose was long. Mr. Stewart, the eminent portrait painter, used to say, there were features in his face totally different from what he had ever observed in that of any other human being; the sockets for the eyes, for instance, were larger than what he ever met with before, and the upper part of the nose broader. All his features, he observed, were indicative of

the strongest passions ; yet, like *Socrates*, his judgement and great self-command have always made him appear a man of a different cast in the eyes of the world. He always spoke with great diffidence, and sometimes hesitated for a word ; but it was always to find one particularly well adapted to his meaning. His language was manly and expressive. At levee, his discourse with strangers turned principally upon the subject of America ; and if they had been through any remarkable places, his conversation was free and particularly interesting, for he was intimately acquainted with every part of the country. He was much more open and free in his behavior at levee than in private, and in the company of ladies still more so than when solely with men.

FEW persons ever found themselves for the first time in the presence of General WASHINGTON, without being impressed with a certain degree of veneration and awe ; nor did those emotions subside on a closer acquaintance ; on the contrary, his person and deportment were such as rather

tended to augment them. The hard service he had seen, the important and laborious offices he had filled, gave a kind of austerity to his countenance, and a reserve to his manners; yet he was the kindest husband, the most humane master, the steadiest friend.

THE whole range of history does not present to our view a character upon which we can dwell with such entire and unmixed admiration. The long life of General WASHINGTON is not stained by a single blot. He was indeed a man of such rare endowments, and such a fortunate temperament, that every action he performed was equally exempted from the charge of vice or weakness. Whatever he said, or did, or wrote, was stamped with a striking and peculiar propriety. His qualities were so happily blended, and so nicely harmonized, that the result was a great and perfect whole. The powers of his mind, and the dispositions of his heart, were admirably suited to each other. It was the union of the most consummate prudence with the most perfect moderation. His views, though large and liberal, were never extravagant; his

virtues, though comprehensive and beneficent, were discriminating, judicious, and practical.

YET his character, though regular and uniform, possessed none of the littleness which may sometimes belong to these descriptions of men. It formed a majestic pile, the effect of which was not impaired, but improved by order and symmetry. There was nothing in it to dazzle by wildness, and surprize by eccentricity. It was of a high species of moral beauty. It contained every thing great and elevated, but it had no false and tinsel ornament. It was not the model cried up by fashion and circumstance ; its excellency was adapted to the true and just moral taste, incapable of change from the varying accidents of manners, of opinions, and times.—General WASHINGTON is not the idol of a day, but the hero of ages !

PLACED in circumstances of the most trying difficulty at the commencement of the American contest, he accepted that situation which was pre-eminent in danger and responsibility. His perseverance over-

came every obstacle ; his moderation conciliated every opposition ; his genius supplied every resource ; his enlarged view could plan, revise, and improve every branch of civil and military operation. He had the superior courage which can act or forbear to act, as true policy dictates, careless of the reproaches of ignorance, either in power or out of power. He knew how to conquer by waiting, in spite of obloquy, for the moment of victory ; and he merited true praise by despising undeserved censure. In the most arduous moments of the contest, his prudent firmness proved the salvation of the cause which he supported.

His conduct was, on all occasions, guided by the most pure disinterestedness. Far superior to low and groveling motives, he seemed even to be uninfluenced by that ambition, which has justly been called the instinct of great souls. He acted ever as if his country's welfare, and that alone, was the moving spring. His excellent mind needed not even the stimulus of ambition, or the prospect of fame. Glory was but a secondary consideration. He performed great actions, he persevered in a course of

laborious utility, with an equanimity that neither sought distinction, nor was flattered by it. His reward was in the consciousness of his own rectitude, and in the success of his patriotic efforts.

As his elevation to the chief power was the unbiassed choice of his countrymen, his exercise of it was agreeable to the purity of its origin. As he had neither solicited nor usurped dominion, he had neither to contend with the opposition of rivals, nor the revenge of enemies. As his authority was undisputed, so it required no jealous precautions, no rigorous severity. His government was mild and gentle; it was beneficent and liberal; it was wise and just. His prudent administration consolidated and enlarged the dominion of an infant Republic. In voluntarily resigning the magistracy, which he had filled with such distinguished honor, he enjoyed the unequalled satisfaction of leaving to the State he had contributed to establish, the fruits of his wisdom and the example of his virtues.

It is some consolation, amidst the violence of ambition and the criminal thirst

of power, of which so many instances occur around us, to find a character whom it is honorable to admire, and virtuous to imitate. A Conqueror, for the freedom of his country! A Legislator for its security! A Magistrate for its happiness! His glories were never sullied by those excesses into which the highest qualities are apt to degenerate. With the greatest virtues he was exempt from the corresponding vices. He was a man in whom the elements were so mixed, that "nature might have stood up to all the world" and owned him as her work. His fame, bounded by no country, will be confined to no age. The character of General WASHINGTON, which his cotemporaries regret and admire, will be transmitted to posterity; and the memory of his virtues, while patriotism and virtue are held sacred among men, will remain undiminished.

A P P E N D I X.

NOTE (A) page 19.

THE following intercepted letter from Mons. LA ROCHE, to Mons. L'MAINE, a French officer, was published by Mr. Thomas Fleet of Boston, in 1754, shortly after it was intercepted, and is an authentic and important document, containing a particular account of the deep designs and extensive plans of the French for subjugating the British colonies at that period; of their forces, and arrangements; and also of the defenceless situation of the colonies. In a word, it throws much light on the history of that gloomy and interesting period of our history, and develops the nature of that long and cruel war, in which the HERO of the preceding memoirs bore so conspicuous a part.

QUEBEC, Feb. 16, 1753.

“ SIR,

THE day of my arrival at this place, I sent dispatches to all the commanding officers in New France, to meet me within ten days at Montreal: I also immediately sent expresses to all the commanding officers at Mississippi, to muster with all expedition, the natives enlisted in his Most Christian Majesty's service, to join our troops from France, and proceed forthwith to Ohio, there to follow such directions as from time to time they shall receive from us at Canada: And according to time appointed, I met Mons. D'averney at Montreal, with our other officers; at which interview, I received a most agreeable account from them, in favor of our royal master's interest, which gives us a glorious prospect of soon adding a

kingdom unto our dread sovereign's dominions ; for by their account from north to south, they have enlisted into his majesty's service, four or five thousand resolute young natives among the several tribes ; and those have been for some time disciplined, and well equipt with all necessaries. They also inform me, that our regulars from France, with the natives included, at Mississippi, amount to near two thousand four hundred, who are to build many strong forts at Ohio and places adjacent, which in a little time we expect will prove impregnable against any force the English can raise in those parts. The cannon for said forts is already dispatched.

Our army at Canada, with our regulars included, will amount to near five thousand, which we determine to divide into three main bodies, one to be commanded by Count Monterey, the second by Mons. Boriel, and the third by Mons. Estrides. Count Monterey to proceed to Crown-Point, and divide his squadron into parties on the back of Albany. The second division under Mons. Boriel, on the back of Maryland and Pennsylvania ; and the third under Mons. Estrides, on the back of New-England ; which are all to be divided into parties, as the commanding officers shall judge proper. We design only to send small parties of Indians into their back settlements, to bring us fresh supplies of provisions until we are properly fortified. Father Anthony, by an uncommon assiduity and influence, has gained over to our interest, a number of young men of the six Nations, who by the English are looked upon as our enemies ; let that suspicion remain, and they may keep the old men and women.

I must not omit to acquaint you, that our new Governor is more and more zealous and resolute to be a principal instrument (with the united assistance of the houses of Bourbon) to subdue and extirpate Heretics out of America. And such a glorious acquisition, will add a kingdom, which will prove superior to Scotland and Ireland, and furnish stores of every kind for

His most christian and catholic majesty's navy, and provisions and other necessaries even to profusion, for the supply of their royal majesty's possessions in the West-Indies.

Our young Hero, the present governor of Canada, did not take this task upon him, of making a conquest of that part of North-America possessed by the English, only from a motive which makes him ruler thereof, and because he has not a superior title; but his present disposition animates him to be revenged on the English Heretics for the late indignities offered his illustrious person and royal predecessors; and is come into these parts, invested with the power and authority of church and state, and supported with money and other assistance, by his most christian and catholic majesties; and has likewise received the supreme sanction and sovereign benediction of his holiness the Pope, to drive out of America pestilent Heretics, to make room for good Catholics. I have also the satisfaction of acquainting you, that the regiments raised in the Switz Cantons some time past, which our governor brought over with him, are in high spirits, zealous to assist us against the English, and conceive an infinite satisfaction at our present prospect of possessing those fruitful lands now enjoyed by the English.

I have lately had a conference with M'Laird, an Irish Jesuit of the order of St. Patrick, a politic ingenious man, who has been among the several tribes, influencing and enlisting the natives into his most christian majesty's service: He gives me a very succinct and satisfactory account of the several tribes of natives near Canada, that upon any emergent occasion, we may command what numbers we shall have occasion for. He gives me also a particular relation of the several provinces inhabited by the English on the sea coasts, and appears perfectly acquainted with their manners and customs. He informs me there are many of our hearty friends among them, with whom he has settled a correspondence by letters, by the way of Cape

Breton, and from thence to Quebec. The English (he says) are our good friends; that the measures we have concerted, could not be so effectually carried on, were it not that one hundred sail of their vessels yearly arrive at Cape Breton, with provision and other necessaries from Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Rhode-Island, &c. which, by a moderate computation, have brought this year 10,000 barrels of flour, 5000 barrels of pork and beef, 1500 tons of bread, and of butter, cheese, hogs, neat cattle, and poultry, even to profusion; some of which is sent to our Southern plantations, and the king's commissioners supply the magazines at Cape Breton, and send large quantities to our army at Quebec, which elevates the spirits of our soldiers. We have also a good supply of powder by the way of Cape Breton. M'Laish's sentiments of the English bordering on the sea coast is satisfactory; they having little or no military discipline among them, no arms nor ammunition, neither do they know properly how to use them, except those Oliverian heretics who took our Cape Breton; these cast a damp on our undertakings; they have the same Governor Shirley, who is an enterprising, resolute man; and when he, and the puritan ministers, say to the inhabitants, "Go, fight for your religion and country," they rush like lions, and had rather die in battle, than submit to the dictates of our holy Fathers, Jesuits, Friars, and Monks, and become members of our mother church. They retain the most martial spirit of any in North America, and have a tincture of Oliver Cromwell's blood remaining; therefore for the present, we shall not erect any forts bordering near them; should we attempt such a thing, even with ten thousand men, M'Laish is confident we should be prevented, and all our measures disconcerted, by the vigilance of those New England heretics; for if they could take Cape Breton (which we imagined to be impregnable) what can we suppose they could not effect, when their indignation and resentment provokes them to oppose

our encroachments on their territories ? And they are sensible, that when once we become their masters, fire and gibbet will be their portion, if they do not fall down and worship the images we shall set up.

Our design is to get footing in the western provinces. Lord Baltimore was one of our mother church, and a good friend to king James ; and in Maryland and Virginia, and those parts, there are many true Catholics that will not fight their brethren. M'Laish acquaints me, the inhabitants of Pennsylvania are a meek, peaceable people, who will neither furnish money, arms, nor ammunition, that if you take their coat, they will give you their cloak also : these we shall indulge with many priviledges, for their not opposing our measures, and quietly surrendering their lands, and submitting to the godly admonitions of our holy fathers.

M'Laish likewise acquaints me, that from New-York westward, the inhabitants are not such bigots to religion, therefore may more easily be prevailed on to be of our holy religion. The rich traders in those parts, are not concerned at our erecting forts near them, from a view of private gain in the fur trade. And M'Laish says, the English might have demolished Crown Point, but many in Albany and New-York have received considerable advantages by our fur trade, by which, we have also been benefitted, in receiving ammunition, &c. in exchange.

There is now a dispute between our grand monarch and the English, relating to the boundary line in the North, and what are called the neutral islands, in South America ; but his most christian majesty is determined to decide the controversy very soon : He is now peopling the neutral islands, and what canon will be requisite to fortify the same, is already at Martinico. From Canada and Mississippi we are to have a sufficient number of regular troops to join the natives, so soon as we are prepared to receive them, and those to be dispersed on the back of the English,

between Crown Point and Ohio. Our officers are directed to send proper persons into the English provinces, to make a more perfect discovery of their strength and weakness: Those are to deceive the English which (French policy has frequently done!) by amusing them, with being deserters.

Our grand monarch's will and pleasure is, that we immediately build strong forts between Crown Point and Ohio, sufficient to secure fifty thousand men, and so situated, that upon any extraordinary occasion, they may immediately unite and oppose the English, if they should attempt to oppose us; but, at present, they appear unconcerned and secure. However, their numbers cannot terrify us, when they have no discipline or union. Had they as many as Mexico, before the conquest, could boast of, our regulars, headed by our hero, the present governor, would destroy as many thousands as Cortes did of the Mexicans.

I must, with secret pleasure to ourselves, tell you Sir, that we are pitying not envying, the English who are peopling Nova-Scotia: In thus fatiguing themselves in clearing land, and expending considerable sums in building, &c. as his most christian majesty's pleasure is, to prepare a large squadron to deprive them of their labor and possessions: Then will they cry out, Who would have imagined this would have befallen us, when no more disturbance has been at home? When this is effected, the English may undertake by remonstrances, to complain of a violation and infringement of treaties.

I need not inform you, Sir, of our well concerted plan, which is, to keep New England, South Carolina and Georgia, fully engaged to defend their own territories, in order to prevent their assisting the intervening provinces, which will fall an easy prey, as their ports will be blocked up by our ships, and those of his catholic majesty's, who have also a sufficient number to divert the English squadrons, and keep them at home; at which time, with our numerous Indian al-

lies we shall enter the English provinces of New-York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, &c. Our Indian allies eastward, are to attack the eastward settlements; and his catholic majesty to transport a number of regulars from the Havanna, who are to attack Georgia and South Carolina, which will be added to his other dominions of New Spain; and his most christian majesty to possess all the land from South Carolina to Newfoundland.

I need not caution you, Sir, to conceal the contents of this letter, which you must be sensible should remain an entire secret, lest the English should discover the measures we have concerted: and while they are amusing themselves with idle disputes and debates, and one province contending, and promoting jealousies, and raising groundless suspicions of each other, without making any preparations for defence, let us unite as one body, as loyal subjects and good catholics, then shall we accomplish our glorious undertaking, and sing Te Deum, and celebrate mass in those places which have been long defiled by the breath of heretics.

I remain, Sir, your obedient Servant,
DE ROCHE.

NOTE (B) page 28.

MOUNT VERNON, the seat of the late GENERAL WASHINGTON, is pleasantly situated on the Virginia bank of Potomac river, in Fairfax county, Virginia, where the river is nearly two miles wide; 9 miles below Alexandria; 4 above the beautiful seat of the late Col. Fairfax, called Bellevoir; 127 from Point Look Out, at the mouth of the river, and 280 miles from the sea. The area of the mount is 200 feet above the surface of the river; and, after furnishing a lawn of five acres in front, about the same in rear of the buildings falls off rather abruptly on those two quarters. On the north end it subsides gradually into extensive pasture grounds; while on the south it slopes

more steeply, in a short distance, and terminates with the coach house, stables, vineyard, and nurseries. On either wing is a thick grove of different flowering forest trees. Parallel with them, on the land side, are two spacious gardens, into which, one is led by two serpentine gravel walks, planted with weeping willows and shady shrubs. The mansion house itself (though much embellished by, yet not perfectly satisfactory to, the chaste taste of its late possessor) appears venerable and convenient. The superb banqueting room was finished after he returned home from the army, in 1783. A lofty portico, 96 feet in length, supported by 8 pillars, has a pleasing effect when viewed from the water; the whole assemblage of the green house, school house, offices, and servants' halls, when seen from the land side, bears a resemblance to a rural village; especially as the lands on that side are laid out somewhat in the form of English gardens, in meadows and grass grounds, ornamented with little copses, circular clumps, & single trees. A small park on the margin of the river, where the English fallow deer and the American wild deer are seen through the thicket, alternately with the vessels as they are sailing along, add a romantic and picturesque appearance to the whole scenery. On the opposite side of a small creek to the northward, an extensive plain, exhibiting corn-fields, and cattle grazing, affords in summer a luxuriant landscape, while the blended verdure of wood-lands and cultivated declivities, on the Maryland shore, variegates the prospect in a charming manner. Such are the philosophic shades to which the Commander in Chief of the American army retired in 1783, at the close of a victorious war; which he again left in 1789, to dignify, with his unequalled talents, the highest office in the gift of his fellow-citizens; and to which he again retreated in 1797, loaded with honors, and the benedictions of his country; where, in 1798, having again heard and obeyed the call of his endangered country to command her armies, he was summoned, on the 14th of Dec. 1799, to join the Heavenly Hosts.

NOTE (C) page 32.

Mr. PRESIDENT.

“ THOUGH I am truly sensible of the high honours done me in this appointment, yet I feel great distress from a consciousness, that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust : However, as the Congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service, and for the support of the glorious cause. I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks for this distinguished testimony of their approbation.

“ BUT lest some unlucky event should happen unfavorable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in the room, that I this day declare with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with.

“ As to pay, Sir, I beg leave to assure the Congress, that as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. Those I doubt not they will discharge, and that is all I desire.”

NOTE (D) page 34.

AMONG the many hazards to which General WASHINGTON was exposed, while at the head of the American armies, the following deserves to be particularly mentioned. In the month of June, 1776, while the army lay at New-York, a plot was meditated under the direction of Gov. Tryon, managed by the then Mayor of the city, to aid the king's troops on their arrival at New-York. The plot was so far matured as to have been communicated to some of the American army, and Thomas Hickey, one of the General's life guard, was engaged in it, and had enlisted others. General WASHINGTON was to have

been taken off, either by poison or assassination. By a Providential and timely discovery, the detestable design was frustrated. Hickey was tried by a court martial, on the morning of the 28th of June, found guilty, and executed, amidst the execrations of the army, at eleven o'clock the same day.

NOTE (E) page 39.

Extract from his Speech to the first Congress under our present form of Government, delivered May 1789.

“ FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE SENATE, AND OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

AMONG the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the 14th day of the present month. On the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision as the asylum of my declining years : A retreat which was rendered every day more necessary as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens, a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence one, who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unpractised in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance by which it might be affected. All I dare hope is, that if in executing this task I have been too much swayed by a grateful

remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof of the confidence of my fellow-citizens ; and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination for the weighty and untried cares before me ; my error will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my country, with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

Such being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station, it would be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being, who rules over the Universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States, a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes, and may enable every instrument employed in its administration, to execute with success, the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own ; nor those of my fellow-citizens at large, less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand, which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States. Every step, by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency. And in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis,

have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking that there are none under the influence of which, the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence."

NOTE (F) page 43.

WASHINGTON's *Letter of Acceptance as Commander in Chief of the American Armies.*

MOUNT VERNON, 13th July, 1798.

DEAR SIR,

I HAD the honor on the evening of the 11th instant, to receive from the hand of the Secretary of War, your favor of the 7th, announcing that you had, with the advice and consent of the Senate, appointed me "Lieutenant-Gen. and Commander in Chief of all the Armies raised, or to be raised for the service of the United States."

I cannot express how greatly affected I am at this new proof of public confidence, and the highly flattering manner in which you have been pleased to make the communication; at the same time I must not conceal from you my earnest wish, that the choice had fallen upon a man less declined in years, and better qualified to encounter the usual vicissitudes of war.

You know, Sir, what calculation I have made relative to the probable course of events, on my retiring from office, and the determination I had consoled myself with, of closing the remnant of my days in my present peaceful abode; you will therefore be at no loss to conceive and appreciate the sensations I must have experienced, to bring my mind to any conclusion that would pledge me, at so late a period of life, to leave scenes I sincerely love, to enter upon the boundless field of public action, incessant trouble, and high responsibility.

It was not possible for me to remain ignorant of, or indifferent to, recent transactions. The conduct of the Directory of France towards our country—their

insidious hostility to its government—their various practices to withdraw the affections of the people from it—the evident tendency of their acts and those of their agents, to countenance and invigorate opposition—their disregard of solemn treaties and the laws of nations—their war upon our defenceless commerce—their treatment of our ministers of peace, and their demands, amounting to tribute, could not fail to excite in me, corresponding sentiments with those my countrymen have so generally expressed in their affectionate addresses to you. Believe me, Sir, no one can more cordially approve of the wise and prudent measures of your administration. They ought to inspire universal confidence, and will, no doubt, combined with the state of things, call from Congress such laws and means as will enable you to meet the full force and extent of the crisis.

Satisfied, therefore, that you have sincerely wished and endeavored to avert war, and exhausted, to the last drop, the cup of reconciliation, we can with pure hearts appeal to Heaven for the justice of our cause; and may confidently trust the final result to that kind Providence who has heretofore, and so often, signally favored the people of these United States.

Thinking in this manner, and feeling how incumbent it is upon every person, of every description, to contribute at all times to his country's welfare, and especially, in a moment like the present, when every thing we hold dear and sacred, is so seriously threatened; I have finally determined to accept the commission of Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States; with the reserve only, that I shall not be called into the field until the army is in a situation to require my presence, or it becomes indispensable by the urgency of circumstances.

In making this reservation, I beg it to be understood, that I do not mean to withhold any assistance to arrange and organize the army, which you may think I can afford. I take the liberty also to mention that

I must decline having my acceptance considered as drawing after it any immediate charge upon the public, or that I can receive any emoluments annexed to the appointment, before entering into a situation to incur expense.

The Secretary of War being anxious to return to the Seat of Government, I have detained him no longer than was necessary to a full communication upon the several points he had in charge.

With very great respect, I have the honor to be, &c.

Go. WASHINGTON.

JOHN ADAMS,
President of the United States.



EXTRACTS FROM
General Washington's Will.

I, GEORGE WASHINGTON, of Mount Vernon, a Citizen of the United States, and lately President of the same, Do make, ordain, and declare this instrument, which is written with my own hand,* and every page thereof subscribed with my name, to be my last Will and Testament, revoking all others.

Imprimis. All my debts, of which there are but few, and none of magnitude, are to be punctually and speedily paid; and the Legacies herein after bequeathed, are to be discharged as soon as circumstances will permit, and in the manner directed.

Item. To my dearly beloved wife, *Martha Washington*, I give and bequeath the use, profit, and benefit of my whole Estate, real and personal, for the term of her natural life, except such parts thereof as are

* In the original manuscript, GEORGE WASHINGTON was written at the bottom of every page.

pecially disposed of hereafter.—My improved Lot in the town of Alexandria, situated on Pitt and Cameron streets, I give to her and her heirs for ever ; as I also do my Household and Kitchen Furniture of every sort and kind, with the Liquors and Groceries which may be on hand at the time of my decease, to be used and disposed of as she may think proper.

Item. Upon the decease of my wife, it is my will and desire, that all the Slaves which I hold in my *own right* shall receive their freedom. To emancipate them during her life, would, though earnestly wished by me, be attended with such insuperable difficulties on account of their intermixture by marriages with the dower Negroes, as to excite the most painful sensations, if not disagreeable consequences from the latter while both descriptions are in the occupancy of the same proprietor ; it not being in my power, under the tenure by which the dower Negroes are held, to manumit them. *And whereas*, among those who will receive freedom according to this devise, there may be some who from old age or bodily infirmities, and others who, on account of their infancy, that will be unable to support themselves, it is my will and desire that all who come under the first and second description, shall be comfortably clothed and fed by my heirs while they live ; and that such of the latter description as have no parents living, or if living, are unable or unwilling to provide for them, shall be bound by the court until they shall arrive at the age of twenty-five years ; and in cases where no record can be produced, whereby their ages can be ascertained, the judgment of the court upon its own view of the subject, shall be adequate and final. The Negroes thus bound, are (by their masters or mistresses) to be taught to read and write, and to be brought up to some useful occupation, agreeably to the laws of the commonwealth of Virginia, providing for the support of orphan and other poor children—And I do hereby expressly forbid the sale or transportation out of the said

commonwealth of any Slave I may die possessed of under any pretence whatsoever. And I do moreover, most pointedly and most solemnly enjoin it upon my Executors hereafter named or the survivor of them, to see that *this* clause respecting Slaves and every part thereof, be religiously fulfilled at the epoch at which it is directed to take place, without evasion, neglect, or delay, after the crops which may then be on the ground are harvested, particularly as it respects the aged and infirm; seeing that a regular and permanent fund be established for their support as long as there are subjects requiring it; not trusting to the uncertain provision to be made by individuals:—And to my mulatto man *William*, (calling himself William Lee) I give immediate freedom, or if he should prefer it (on account of the accidents which have befallen him and which have rendered him incapable of walking or of any active employment) to remain in the situation he now is, it shall be optional in him to do so; in either case however, I allow him an annuity of Thirty Dollars during his natural life, which shall be independent of the victuals and cloaths he has been accustomed to receive if he chuses the last alternative; but in full with his freedom, if he prefers the first: And this I give him as a testimony of my sense of his attachment to me, and for his faithful services during the Revolutionary War.

Item. WHEREAS by a law of the Commonwealth of Virginia, enacted in the year 1785, the Legislature thereof was pleased (as an evidence of its approbation of the services I had rendered the public, during the Revolution, and partly, I believe, in consideration of my having suggested the vast advantages which the community would derive from the extension of its inland navigation under Legislative patronage) to present me with one hundred shares, of one hundred dollars each, in the incorporated company, established for the purpose of extending the navigation of James River, from tide water to the mountains;—and also

with fifty shares of one hundred pounds sterling each, in the corporation of another company likewise established for the similar purpose of opening the navigation of the river Potomac, from tide water to Fort Cumberland; the acceptance of which, although the offer was highly honorable and grateful to my feelings, was refused as inconsistent with a principle which I had adopted, and had never departed from—Namely—not to receive pecuniary compensation for any services I could render my country in its arduous struggle with Great Britain for its rights: and because I had evaded similar propositions from other States in the Union. Adding to this refusal, however, an intimation that, if it should be the pleasure of the Legislature to permit me to appropriate the said shares to Public uses, I would receive them on those terms with due sensibility; and this it having consented to, in flattering terms, as will appear by a subsequent law and sundry resolutions, in the most ample and honorable manner. I proceed after this recital, for the more correct understanding of the case, to declare—That as it has always been a source of serious regret with me to see the Youth of these United States sent to Foreign Countries for the purpose of Education, often before their minds were formed, or they had imbibed any adequate ideas of the happiness of their own; contracting too frequently, not only habits of dissipation and extravagance, but principles unfriendly to Republican Government, and to the true and genuine liberties of mankind; which, thereafter are rarely overcome.—For these reasons it has been my ardent wish to see a plan devised on a liberal scale which would have a tendency to spread systematic ideas through all parts of this rising empire, thereby to do away local attachments and state prejudices, as far as the nature of things would, or indeed ought to admit, from our National Councils.—Looking anxiously forward to the accomplishment of so desirable an object as this is, (in my estimation) my mind has not been able to contemplate

any plan more likely to effect the measure than the establishment of a UNIVERSITY in a central part of the United States, to which the Youths of fortune and talents from all parts thereof might be sent for the completion of their Education in all the branches of polite literature; in arts and sciences, in acquiring knowledge in the principles of politics and good government, and (as a matter of infinite importance in my judgment) by associating with each other and forming friendships in Juvenile years, be enabled to free themselves in a proper degree from those local prejudices and habitual jealousies which have just been mentioned; and which, when carried to excess, are never failing sources of disquietude to the public mind, and pregnant of mischievous consequences to this country; under these impressions, so fully dilated.

Item. I give and bequeath in perpetuity the Fifty Shares which I hold in the Patowmac Company (under the aforesaid acts of the Legislature of Virginia) towards the endowment of a UNIVERSITY to be established within the limits of the District of Columbia, under the auspices of the general government, if that government should incline to extend a fostering hand towards it; and until such seminary is established, and the funds arising on these shares shall be required for its support, my further WILL and DESIRE is, that the profit accruing therefrom shall, whenever the dividends are made, be laid out in purchasing Stock in the Bank of Columbia, or some other Bank, at the discretion of my Executors, or by the Treasurer of the United States for the time being, under the direction of Congress—provided that honorable body should patronize the measure, and the dividends proceeding from the purchase of such Stock is to be vested in more Stock, and so on, until a sum, adequate to the accomplishment of the object, is obtained; of which I have not the smallest doubt, before many years pass away, even if no aid or encouragement is given by Legislative authority, or from any other source.

Item. The hundred Shares which I hold in the James River Company, I have given, and now confirm in perpetuity, to and for the use and benefit of Liberty Hall Academy, in the County of Rockbridge, in the Commonwealth of Virginia.

Item. To the *Earl of Buchan* I recommit “the Box made of the Oak that sheltered the great Sir *William Wallace* after the Battle of Falkirk”—presented to me by his Lordship, in terms too flattering for me to repeat, with a request “to pass it, on the event of my decease, to the man in my country, who should appear to merit it best, upon the same conditions that have induced him to send it to me.” Whether easy or not, to select *the Man* who might comport, with his Lordship’s opinion in this respect, is not for me to say; but conceiving that no disposition of this valuable curiosity can be more eligible than the recommitment of it to his own cabinet, agreeable to the original design of the Goldsmiths’ Company of Edinburgh, who presented it to him, and, at his request, consented that it should be transferred to me—I do give and bequeath the same to his Lordship; and, in case of his decease, to his heir, with my grateful thanks for the distinguished honor of presenting it to me, and more especially for the favorable sentiments with which he accompanied it.

Item. To my Brother, *Charles Washington*, I give and bequeath the Gold headed Cane left me by Dr. *Franklin*, in his Will* (*See last page in this book.*)

Item. To my Nephews, *William Augustine Washington*, *George Lewis*, *George Steptoe Washington*, *Bushrod Washington*, and *Samuel Washington*, I give one of the Swords or Cutteaux, of which I may die possessed: And they are to choose in the order they are named.—These Swords are accompanied with an injunction not to unsheath them for the purpose of shedding blood; except it be for self-defence or in defence of their country and its rights; and in the latter case, to keep them unsheathed, and prefer falling with them in their hands to the Relinquishment thereof.

The Family Vault at *Mount Vernon*, requiring repair, and being improperly situated besides, I desire that a new one of brick, and upon a larger scale, may be built at the foot of what is commonly called the Vineyard Inclosure, on the ground which is marked out—In which my Remains, with those of my deceased relations (now in the old Vault) and such others of my Family as may chuse to be entombed there, may be deposited. And it is my express desire, that my Corps may be interred in a private manner, without parade or funeral Oration.

LASTLY, I constitute and appoint my dearly beloved Wife *Martha Washington*, my Nephews *William Augustine Washington*, *Bushrod Washington*, *George Step-
ton Washington*, *Samuel Washington*, and *Lawrence Lewis*, and my Ward *George Washington Parke Custis*, (when he shall have arrived at the age of Twenty Years) Executrix and Executors of this WILL and TESTAMENT—In the construction of which, it will readily be perceived that no professional character has been consulted, or has had any agency in the draught, and that although it has occupied many of my leisure hours to digest, and to throw it into its present form, it may, notwithstanding, appear crude and incorrect—but having endeavored to be plain and explicit in all the devises, even at the expence of prolixity, perhaps of tautology, I hope and trust that no disputes will arise concerning them; but if, contrary to expectation, the case should be otherwise from the want of legal expression, or the usual technical terms, or because too much or too little has been said on any of the devises to be consonant with law, my will and direction expressly is, that all disputes (if unhappily any should arise) shall be decided by three impartial, and intelligent men, known for their probity and good understanding—two to be chosen by the disputants, each having the choice of one, and the third by those two—which three men thus chosen shall, unfettered by law or legal constructions, declare the sense of the Testator's intentions: And such decision is, to all intents and purposes, to be as binding on the parties as if it had been given in the Supreme Court of the United States.

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✎ THE Editors can offer no other apology to those Gentlemen who have subscribed, and whose names are not contained in the foregoing list, than to inform them, that only about *thirty* subscription papers had been returned, on the commitment of this sheet to the press, out of the number of *one hundred and fifty*, which had been circulated in various parts of the Union.

(See page 245, of this book.)

* *My fine crab-tree walking stick, with a gold head curiously wrought in the form of the cap of Liberty, I give to my friend, and the friend of mankind, General WASHINGTON. If it were a sceptre, he has merited it, and would become it.* (Dr. Franklin's Will.)

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